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THE STORY OF LIBERTY

BY
JAMES BALDWIN



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BALDWIN'S STORY OF LIBERTY

E P 1

PREFACE

THE necessity of teaching, not only to young Americans but to all prospective Americans, the meaning and mission of political liberty has but lately found expression in the movement known as *Americanization*. What is liberty as exemplified in American institutions? Where and how did it originate? Through what struggles and triumphs has it advanced? What peoples have always been its defenders, and how have its influence and blessings been finally extended to include all nations of the earth? It is upon a knowledge of the facts implied in such questions as these that young American citizens, whether native or foreign-born, are to become truly Americanized.

This book has been prepared with a view to making the study of these subjects both interesting and profitable to American schoolboys and schoolgirls. Although its contents are largely historical, it is not strictly a history; it is rather a series of brief sketches, original and otherwise, supplemented by extracts and selections so arranged as to present a panoramic view of the beginnings and growth of political liberty among English-speaking peoples.

While the sketches are presented in chronological order, much has been left for the students to supply through

supplementary readings and books of reference. The notes and memoranda, inserted occasionally at the end of a chapter or section, are intended to supply the needed suggestions for such additional study.

Special attention is called to the ties of kinship and the common interests which exist between the two great branches of the Anglo-Saxon race; the duty of true patriotism is everywhere emphasized; and our debt of gratitude to the heroes and statesmen who have helped to make our liberty secure is duly recognized.

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The more closely the two peoples come into contact, the better they get to know each other, the more I believe it will be apparent to each not only that they speak the same language, but that they use it to mean the same things, that they both have the same ideas of freedom and liberty, and desire the same sort of world in which to live.

— VISCOUNT GREY

Our object is to vindicate the principles of peace and justice in the life of the world against selfish and autocratic power and to set up among the really free and self-governed peoples of the world such a concert of purpose and action as will henceforth insure the observance of those principles.

— WOODROW WILSON

THE STORY OF LIBERTY

OUR FOREFATHERS BETWEEN THE SEAS

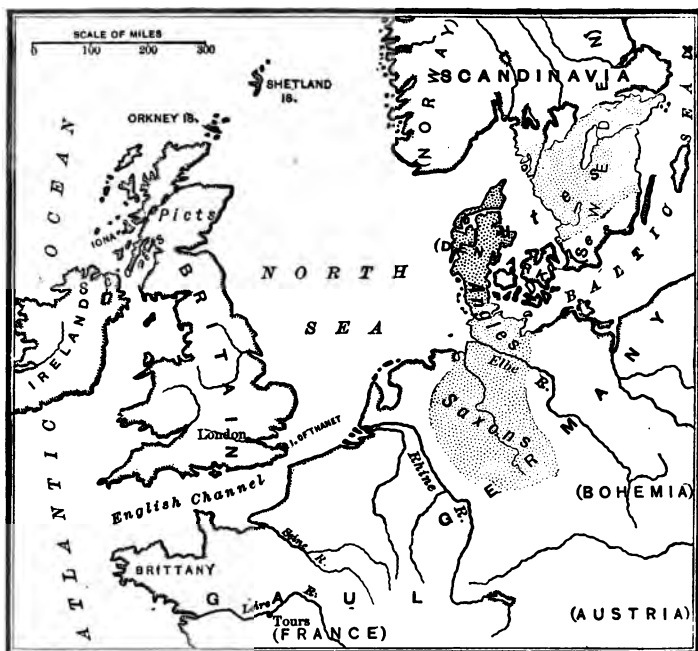
I

FIFTEEN hundred years ago, our forefathers lived, not in America nor yet in England, but in that low-lying narrow neck of land which lies between the great North Sea and the Baltic. The main or middle portion of their country they called Angle-land, or Engle-land; the northern section was known by the name which it still bears, Jutland; and the broader, more open southern part was Saxon-land, or the home of the Saxons.

No matter whether they were Saxons, Jutes, or Angles, these ancestors of ours were bound together by traditions of common origin and common interest which made each one feel a kinship with all his neighbors. It is pleasant to think that perhaps, at some time in the dim, distant past, and somewhere in an unknown, far-away corner of the mystic East, the race may have had its beginning in a single household, under the roof of a single dwelling.

Our early kinsmen between the two seas left no history to tell us about themselves — how they lived and what they did and thought in those times so

long ago. What we know about them has been gathered mainly from the writings of Roman historians and poets who, we may be quite sure, were not



Where our Ancestors Dwelt

at all likely to speak of them in words of too high praise.

They had no cities or large towns; but here and there, in the midst of the great forest or within easy distance from the sea, were little family settlements or communities where each man lived among his own

kinspeople and tilled his own little allotment of ground. Each settlement, no matter how small, was an independent commonwealth; and between it and its nearest neighbors there was a strip of common ground which belonged to neither. This neutral belt of uncertain width was called a "mearc" or march. In some cases it was a stretch of dense woodland; but more often it was an impassable fen or moorland, or a dismal marsh where goblins and other strange, uncanny creatures were supposed to dwell. No man might cross a march without first blowing a horn or otherwise giving notice of his coming; and any one failing to do so was regarded as a spy and a trespasser worthy of death.

Around each settlement, and along the inner border of the march, there was commonly a rude wall or fence of sticks and stones, or perhaps a shallow ditch, to serve as a boundary line. This was called the "tun" or town; and the people who dwelt within the inclosure were known collectively as the "tunsceipe" or township. So far as possible, each man lived somewhat apart from his fellows, as woodland, stream, or field made most desirable. But for purposes of safety or defense, several cottages were often clustered round a more lordly dwelling, the home of the "eorl" or headman of the tunsceipe. Even there, however, each family had its own complete house; "all must have independence and free air."¹

¹ Green's "History of the English People."

II

These forefathers of ours rejoiced in their liberty. Each in his own tunsceipe, within his home, was his own master, "upright and free, scorning to be the thrall of any man." They had never known a king; they had never felt the oppressive hand of a tyrant. They made their own laws and chose their own rulers. Even the "eorl" was subject to the people's will and could not hold his place without their approval.

At some central place in each settlement there was a "moot hill," a sacred tree, or a public field where the freemen of the tunsceipe, or of the tribe, met to discuss and order public affairs. It was at this "tun moot" that lots were cast by which each farmer citizen received his due share of plow land or of meadow land. It was there also that choice was made of the fittest to bear sword and spear in the service or defense of the common weal; disagreements between man and man were adjusted; wrongdoers were tried and punished; and due authority was given to "eorl" and "ealdormen" to look after the interests of the tunsceipe in peace and in war.

It is interesting to know that the tun moot has been preserved until the present day by the descendants of these sturdy freemen of olden times. It survives with but few changes in the *town meetings* of Connecticut and other New England states. It exists in one form or another throughout the world where-

ever English thought and English institutions prevail. It represents the purest form of democracy — of “government of the people, by the people, for the people” — which, let us all hope, shall never cease on earth.

And this is what we mean by freedom — political freedom: — *The right of every honest and capable citizen, whether high or low, to an equal voice in the management of public affairs and in the government of his country.*

To obtain their full measure of freedom, our forefathers found it necessary to establish other *moots* besides that of the *tun*. It was not unusual for several tuns to unite in a friendly league to promote the common welfare; and in that case each settlement was entitled to send its “reeve,” or representative, with four to ten picked men, to speak for it in the general assembly, called the “hundred moot.” Finally, in times of war or other great public peril, the strong men of the hundreds, or tribes, gathered in one great conclave or “folk moot,” which was at once the highest court and the supreme power of the nation.

All this, we must remember, was fifteen hundred years ago — yes, more than that. The custom had come down to our ancient kinsmen through nobody knows how many ages. And now, just as the *tun moot* survives in the town meeting, so also the *hundred moot* exists to this very day in our state and colonial

legislatures and the *folk moot* lives in our English Parliament and in our American Congress.

It would be too much to say that the idea of human liberty began with our forefathers between the two seas; but we are quite sure that it was ingrained in their very life and character, and that, through all these centuries, their children and grandchildren to the fiftieth generation have been its foremost friends and defenders. The story of the English people is the story of LIBERTY; and by English people I mean all those, of whatsoever country or whatsoever continent, who can claim descent from the Angles, the Saxons, or the Jutes, the forefathers of the English race.

III

Our forefathers knew very little about other countries and peoples; and other peoples knew almost nothing about our forefathers. The Romans, who had some dealings with them, called them barbarians; and yet we are sure that they were by no means savages. They lived simply, in well-built houses of wood, each family having its own home and fireside. They had their loves and aspirations, their joys and sorrows, their triumphs and failures, very much as we, their remote heirs and grandchildren, continue to have them to this day.

Those who were inland dwellers tilled the soil in such rude manner as they knew. Those whose

homes were near the coast became expert sailors and fishermen and, in time, bold navigators and sea kings, fearing neither wind nor wave nor the monsters of the deep. They dressed with taste and care, and delighted in ornaments of gold and of bronze, which were probably brought to them by Roman traders. The men were heroic; the women were beautiful. Among both there was "a seriousness of purpose, the result of struggles and sacrifices, which foretold great achievements." They were not Christians, but held



Saxon Earl



Saxon Warrior

loosely to a sort of hero worship in which they revered Odin and Thor and other gods of power and strength. "Their mood was above all venturesome, self-reliant, proud, with a dash of hardness and cruelty in it, but ennobled by personal courage and by a high and stern sense of manhood and the worth of man."

Such were the men whom we, whether Englishmen or Americans, are proud to look back to as our remote ancestors from whom we have inherited our ideas of LIBERTY and the best instincts of humanity.

IV

Just what it was that first impelled our forefathers to leave their old homes between the seas and seek others in a strange land, we shall never know. Perhaps it was to escape the hordes of savages — ancestors of the Germans — who were crowding in upon them from the east. Perhaps it was because rumors



Saxon Ship

had reached them of wonderful islands in the west, more fertile than their own land, waiting only for conquest. Perhaps it was because of that unexplained migratory instinct which, through untold ages,

has incited tribes and individuals to seek new fortunes, new homes, and a broader outlook in regions toward the setting sun.

At first a few bold fellows who have learned to sail their rude fishing boats along the bay-indented shores of old Angle-land, strike bravely out into the western sea intent upon adventures, hungry for plunder. Like Columbus, a thousand years later, they discover a new world. What a wonderful tale it is that they, after a while, carry back to their friends in the old home land!

"The island is called Britain," we may imagine them saying. "It is a fair country, with pleasant rivers and fertile fields and great forests, all inviting us to come and take. The Romans, who once dwelt there in great numbers, have gone back to their own place, leaving their houses empty and their fields untilled. The only people who now live in the main parts of the island are the Britons, a feeble folk unused to sword or spear. They are hard pressed by the Picts and the Scots, savages who often come down from the north and from the west to pillage and destroy. It would be easy for us to sail up and down the coast and fill our ships with booty. Indeed, it would be easy, if we chose, to take possession of the entire land and make new settlements there for ourselves; for the land is more fertile and everything is more promising than here in our old Angle-land and Saxon-land. . . . Yes, certainly; we are surely going back; and this time we shall sail in several ships instead of in one. Who will join us? Who will go with us to that strange country where every one may have his fill of adventures? Yes, who will go?"

Among men so courageous and so full of energy, a call like this did not go long unheeded. At first, most of those who went were sea robbers, marauders eager only for pillage. They left their lands and herds and fisheries with the women and the slaves, and launched out boldly upon a career of depredation. And, oh! how cruel was the havoc which they wrought

among the easy-going, stay-at-home Britons, unused to defending themselves in war!

"Foes are these Saxons, and fierce beyond other foes," wrote a poet of the time. "The sea is their



Saxon Invaders of Britain

school of war, and the storm is their friend. They are sea wolves that live on the pillage of the world."

The terror-stricken Britons, fleeing from their burning villages, cried out in despair, "Lord, deliver us from the fury of these Jutes!"

But men in whom there were so many worthy traits could not long remain mere plunderers; neither

was it possible for an entire people to live by piracy alone. Behind these earliest adventurers were the stay-at-homes, the landholders, the laborers, the rank and file of the nation — all of whom were in time stirred by the reports of a land of plenty beyond the sea. As rapidly, therefore, as the first bands of marauders gained some foothold along the coast, they were followed by bands of home makers, who brought with them their women and children and dependents — all breathing the air of adventure and inspired with ideals of life and liberty as ancient as the race itself. Meanwhile, in the old country between the two seas, the desire for better homes and a still broader freedom — dreams of family life with new surroundings — became stronger and stronger with the departure of each new shipload of adventurers; and, "To the West! to the West!" even if not an articulate cry, became the absorbing passion, the one great ambition of those who were left behind.

Year after year, for many years, the great moving went on. The ancient homes and settlements in old Angle-land were one by one left vacant or given over to the savage tribes who came crowding in from the East. Marches, tuns, moot hills, and farmsteads were alike abandoned. The Angle-men of the land between the two seas became the Englishmen of Britain.

The Jutes — smallest of the three tribes — settled in the Isle of Thanet and in the neighboring rich

region, which the Romans had named Cantium but which was later called Kent. The Saxons pushed farther inland and gained possession of three broad stretches of territory to which they gave the names of Essex, Sussex, and Wessex. The Angles were attracted by the inlets and the river mouths and the broad streams of the north. They soon possessed themselves of the forests and the heaths and the abandoned lands of Suffolk and Norfolk, of Yorkshire and Durham, and of the great region of marshes known as Mercia.

The Britons, the ancient inhabitants of the land, being unable to defend their country, were obliged to retire into the mountain lands of Wales and Cornwall.

V

They were settled at last in their new homes, these old-time kinsmen of ours. The most of them were still tillers of the ground, keepers of flocks and herds — land holders and land workers, as they or their fathers had been in the old country. They lived in separate communities, each surrounded by its march. They still held their tun moots and their folk moots, the latter being, in time, combined to form the “witenagemot,” or supreme high council of the land.¹

¹ This great national council was the forerunner of the modern English Parliament. Its members consisted of the ealdormen and earls of the different tribes, the archbishops and the bishops, and later the king's thanes. Its powers were supreme. It could elect or dethrone a king, declare war,

The great migration from over the sea had wrought many changes — changes which were not all for the best. Some of the men, as we have seen, had lived as sea wolves, fierce marauders knowing no law; some had spent the better part of their lives in driving out the Britons, or in fighting the Picts and the Scots, or in defending themselves from invading Danes. It was not easy for such men to settle down to the quiet occupations of peace.

Frequently there were bitter quarrels for the best holdings, for the most desirable farmsteads, or for the richest towns. And these quarrels were seldom settled without violence. Scarcely a year passed without war. The great aims of life were self-protection and conquest. Every man was obliged to appear armed whenever called, and to be ready to fight bravely for his home, his township, or his tribe.

At such a time it was necessary for men to unite in bands or military companies for offense or defense. Each band must have its captain; each army, however small, must have its commander; each jealous clan or community must have a strong man to direct its energies. Thus arose the necessity for one-man leadership. Gradually, the weaker bands or communities were absorbed by the stronger; or several townships, led by a single strong man, united for the

make treaties of peace, levy taxes, appoint or remove great officers of state, and decide all questions of law and justice. Its meetings, which every freeman might attend, were held biennially at different places.

common defense. Less regard was had for the decisions of the tun moot, and much more for the favor of the leader. Thus the free democracy of earlier times gave place to a sort of limited monarchy in which the leader who was strongest and ablest exercised authority over his fellows and assumed the title of king. This he might do, however, only through the consent of his followers or by the decree of the witenagemot.

At first there were as many kingdoms as there were towns or separate communities, although the leader or ruler was not always called a king. The necessity for union gradually brought these communities into closer fellowship, and the number of kingdoms was finally reduced to seven; while, over all, the voice and the will of the people were heard through the general council, and the strongest of the kings was recognized as overlord of the land.

From the time of the first coming of Englishmen into England nearly four hundred years passed before all were united into one kingdom. Meanwhile, as the power and wealth of the kings became greater, the rights and the liberties of the people were gradually curtailed or taken from them. Nevertheless, the spirit of liberty remained strong in the minds and hearts of our ancestors; and Saxon grit and the love of home and kindred and country became forever ingrained in the lives and in the characters of the English people.

SUPPLEMENTARY STUDIES

In what part of Europe did our ancestors live when they first became known to history?

Describe their personal appearance; their homes.

What were their chief occupations?

How and by whom were they governed?

What was their idea of liberty?

What were some of the reasons which induced them to emigrate to Britain?

Tell how and why they finally came to be ruled by kings.

Name the three principal tribes of our forefathers, and tell what part of Britain was settled by each.

Why are the earliest English people sometimes called Anglo-Saxons?

In connection with the study of this period, you will find the following books valuable for reading and study:

Green: A Short History of the English People.

Church: The Story of Early Britain.

Dickens: A Child's History of England.

Mrs. Charles: Early Dawn (romance of the Roman occupation of Britain).

Nivers: School History of England.

Guerber: Story of the English People.

A PATRIOT KING

MANY kings have been selfish, heartless, cruel masters of men, caring for nothing except their own pleasure or glory. Many have been weak-minded, useless creatures, serving no purpose in the world except to be the tools of designing men wiser and more wicked than themselves. It is pleasing to remember, however, that among the monarchs who ruled over our early English forefathers, there was one who understood his real duties and tried earnestly to perform them — one true king who cared more for the happiness of his people than for his own comfort and renown.



King Alfred

The name of that king was Alfred, and he has been truthfully described as "the noblest embodiment of all that is great, all that is lovable in the English temper."

For this reason, and because he so faithfully labored for the betterment of mankind and of his country, he is and has been, always and everywhere, known

as Alfred the Great. No other king of England has ever borne so noble a title; few kings in all the world have merited it.

When Alfred came to the throne, more than four hundred years had passed since the first of our early kinsmen had crossed the North Sea to make homes for themselves in Britain. These years had been a period of great unrest and many changes. Everywhere, in every country, there were turmoil and lawlessness and fighting. Men who hated war and violence had little time or opportunity for the pursuits that make for peace and nobler ways of living.

England was still a wild, half-settled land. Everywhere, there were great forests and broad tracts of lonely marshes where no man lived. Here and there, in the midst of the general wildness, were cleared places with ill-kept farms, or perhaps a village of poor huts clustered around the stronghold of some warrior chief or mighty earl. In places, also, there were thriving settlements of kinsmen and comrades, as there had been in the older Angle-land between the seas. Each of these settlements was encircled by its sacred landmarks, by giant trees carved with mystic figures, or by poles set up in the midst of a trackless marsh. In other places one might find, surrounded by fields and orchards, a flourishing abbey or a monastery in which men and women of religious minds found safe shelter from the lawlessness and terror that filled the world.

In spite of the barbarism that prevailed, the people still held quite generally to the ancient English ideas of truth and honor, courage and liberty. They had little knowledge of the world beyond their own narrow neighborhoods. There were no schools for young people. A few monks and priests in the monasteries could read a little Latin. Still fewer could make out the words in an English book — and of such books there were scarcely a dozen in the whole world. Learning was an accomplishment too great for common minds, and not many kings could so much as name the letters of the alphabet.

Such was England when Alfred was chosen to be its king. He was only twenty-three years of age; but in the entire island there was no man better fitted to rule than he. In his childhood he had been taken on two separate visits to Rome, and once he had spent several months in Paris. He had thus learned many things about the peoples of other lands, their manners and customs and achievements, and his mind had been broadened by contact with people of culture and refinement. Moreover, he had early learned to read, and his passion for books had inspired him with ambitions and desires quite unusual in the England of his time.

The first years of his reign were years of conflict and discouragement. Great bands of Danes from Denmark and Norway — sea rovers and pirates — had invaded the island, were pillaging the coast settle-

ments and threatening to conquer the whole of the land. Alfred, with his little army of patriot Englishmen, fought many battles with these marauders. Sometimes he was victorious; sometimes he was sorely beaten and obliged to save himself by hiding in the forest or by taking refuge in some remote strong-



Danish Pirates

hold; but his true Saxon grit never yielded to discouragement nor became faint through fear, and each successive defeat only strengthened his determination to succeed.

Finally, after a long, fierce struggle, the Danes were defeated and forced to beg for peace. Then it was that Alfred showed the true nobility of his heart. He might easily have made an example of his conquered foes by crushing and destroying them. But

he followed a better plan: he gave to such as chose, lands in the unsettled northern parts of the country, where they might make themselves homes. He only required of them that they should abandon their old marauding ways and their heathenish religion, and live thereafter as good, honest Englishmen.

It was in peace rather than in war that King Alfred proved himself most truly great. His constant aim was to improve his people by helping them to become wiser and better. He was never idle, but spent all his leisure time in reading or in talking with men of knowledge and experience. He established schools in different parts of his kingdom, and sent far and near for the best teachers to come and conduct them. He made just laws for rich and poor alike; and dishonest judges were punished as they deserved. He loved freedom as every true Englishman loves it; and his greatest desire was that liberty, truth, and justice should prevail throughout the world.

During many years of peace, the king did not neglect to keep prepared for a possible uprising by the Danes or a later invasion by marauding Northmen from over the sea. Towards the end of his reign such an uprising and invasion did actually occur. A strong fleet under a famous Danish sea king attacked the eastern coast towns and even sailed into the River Thames. But while Alfred, with a squadron of fishing boats, bravely withstood this invasion, his sons Edward and Ethelred, with a well-disciplined army,

met the rebellious Danes in battle and so worsted them that they were glad to make peace on any terms. The Northmen, sorely defeated, sailed away, not to return for many a year. King Alfred's little squadron



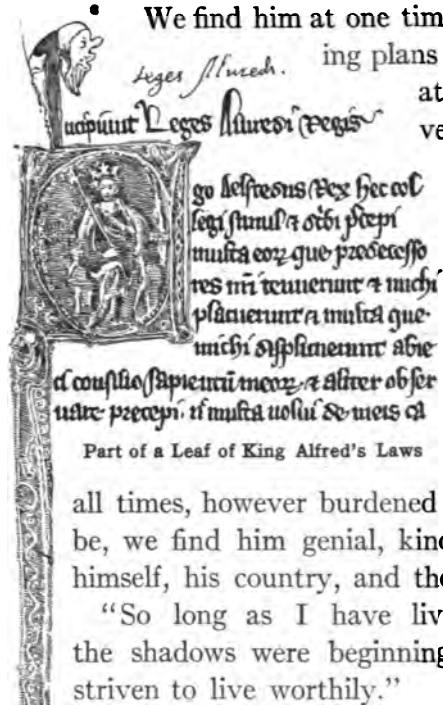
King Alfred Launching a Ship

of boats which had done such good service was improved and strengthened, and finally grew into the great British navy, the pride of every loyal English heart.

Notwithstanding his constant attention to public affairs, the king was never so busy as to forget the more common duties of life. Each hour of the day had its appointed task; in everything that he did he was methodical, orderly, painstaking. Man of business though he was, he found time for both study and recreation. In order that the common people might

know the great good to be derived from reading, he translated a number of Latin books into easy English. He made a collection of old folk songs for the amusement of children. He loved outdoor life and the sports and pastimes common in his day.

We find him at one time an architect, drawing plans for public buildings; at another, he is an inventor, constructing a clock to tell the passage of time by the burning of candles; at another, he is a musician, playing upon his harp and singing in chorus with the gleemen of his court. At



all times, however burdened with duties he may be, we find him genial, kind, helpful — true to himself, his country, and the world of mankind.

"So long as I have lived," he said, when the shadows were beginning to fall — "I have striven to live worthily."

And again, in one of his best and most noted books, he wrote, "I desire to leave to the men who come after me a remembrance of me in good works."

His wish has been fulfilled. Wherever the English race survives, whether in Britain or in America, in

India or in Australia, amid the Arctic snows or under the burning equator, his *good works* still live in the preservation of whatever is best and noblest in the minds and hearts of true Englishmen.

King Alfred, still a young man, died in the year 900. For a century and a half thereafter, Anglo-Saxon rule, tempered by his wise and patriotic influence, continued in England. Some of the kings who succeeded him were weak, others were bad; but the liberties and rights of the common people were safeguarded by wise laws established by the people themselves. In the year 1066, Harold, the last of the Saxon kings chosen by the witenagemot, was overcome and dethroned by William the Norman, and a new set of rulers came into possession of the throne. Nevertheless, England remained the land of the English.

It has been said that King Alfred's spirit still inspires some of the best laws of England — and if of England, then of America also. And if this is true, let us trust that it may also animate our hearts at least to this: — To cherish above all other passions the passion of patriotism, which consists not only in love for one's country and one's kinsfolk, but in supreme devotion to truth and freedom and humanity. This and undying hatred of all forms of oppression and injustice is the lesson that King Alfred is handing down to the youth of both England and America now more than a thousand years after his glorious reign.¹

¹ See Green's "History of the English People."

SUPPLEMENTARY STUDIES

What is patriotism? What is a patriot?

Why may King Alfred be truly called a patriot king?

Can you think of any other king to whom that title can be applied?

Tell how the English people lived in the time of Alfred.

Tell the story of King Alfred and the cakes; of King Alfred as a minstrel; of the manner in which he learned to read.

Why do both Englishmen and Americans still honor the name and the memory of the patriot king?

Learn all that you can about William the Conqueror and the Norman conquest of England. For this purpose refer to any standard or popular history of the period. The following books will also prove instructive and interesting:

Besant: The Story of Alfred the Great.

Guerber: The Story of the English (first chapters).

Green: The Conquest of England.

Freeman: Short History of the Norman Conquest.

Kingsley: Hereward, the Wake (romance, time of William the Conqueror).

Bulwer-Lytton: Harold, the Last of the Saxons (romance, 1066).

Skinner: Tales and Plays of Robin Hood.

Scott: Ivanhoe (romance, about 1194).

NOTE. — The lands of the Saxons were quite generally confiscated by the Conqueror and awarded to his favorites and helpers; but the laws, the customs, and the aspirations of the people continued without much change. The old English devotion to liberty could not be quenched; the ancient methods of local self-government by town meetings and courts of justice still survived; but the strong central government, then so essential to a nation, was supplied by the Norman king. The

common law, inherited from our earliest forefathers and to this day recognized and observed in both the British Empire and the United States, was acknowledged supreme; and trial by jury became firmly established. It was then that what is now known as the English Constitution had its small beginnings, not in any written form but in the minds and memories of men.¹

The English language was enriched by the addition of many words from the French and Latin, which the Normans had brought with them across the Channel; and the brusque Saxon manners of the common people were softened and improved by contact with the broader culture of the conquerors. Slowly, very slowly, and yet with no uncertain steps, the English race was moving towards a full realization of the blessings of liberty.

¹ See page 169.

THE GREAT CHARTER

I

THREE hundred years have passed since the good Alfred lived and labored for the welfare of his people.

A king whose name is John rules in England. He has no right to the throne, but has taken it by force and fraud. In fact, he is not an Englishman; he has no kinship with the liberty-loving Saxon people over whom he reigns; he is not even a true Norman, for he traces his ancestry to the robber counts of Anjou in France.

There was a time when this John was not only the king of England but the ruler also of half of France. England was then to him only a foreign land, to be visited now and then, and to be robbed and plundered at his pleasure. In a long war with the king of France he has lately lost his French dominions, winning thereby the nickname of John Lackland. England is now his only realm, his only country; but it is a realm to be pillaged, a country to be oppressed. Little does he care for the peace and prosperity of the English nation; little thought does he take for the happiness of the people over whom he reigns.

He spends his time in drinking and carousing, in plotting how he may win back his lands in France, and in planning how he may rob his English subjects

not only of their property but of their freedom. The friends whom he has about him are as treacherous and false as himself. No one can trust him; no one can believe him. The English people hate him; the Norman lords and barons distrust and despise



Norman Barons

him; the pope at Rome has declared him unfit to wear a crown.

"Why should I have any regard for these English people?" he cries in a rage. "Let the barons say what they will, I shall yet show them that I am the king and that my will is law."

There is an old story that, in his hatred and despair, he once sent messengers and a letter to the Moors in Spain, offering to join with them in a war of conquest against all Christian nations if only they would help him. After much delay and many tedious ceremonies, the bearers of the message were

admitted into the audience chamber of the Moorish ruler or emir. The emir was reading in a book from which he did not once raise his eyes. The letter was handed to an attendant, and the messengers of King John retired in silence, much impressed by the dignity of the Moors. The next day they were recalled, and the emir, addressing their leader, said:

"I conjure you by your faith in the Christian religion, tell me truly what sort of man is your King John of England, who offers to betray his people to their enemies?"

The messenger hesitated. He could make only one truthful reply. Finally, he said, "King John of England is a man of cunning and determination; but his people have no love for him. They despise him as a traitor and a tyrant."

"Enough!" returned the emir. "His character and deeds are already known to us. We cannot trust a king who has not the respect of his people. We shall have naught to do with him."

King John went on as before, robbing his subjects and imprisoning those who opposed him. At length the lords and barons of England, led by brave Stephen Langton, rose in revolt against him. They met at the abbey of St. Edmundsbury, and there on the high altar each man swore to demand from the tyrant a solemn charter of rights and privileges for all free Englishmen; and this they declared they would have or wage war against him to the bitter end.

II

The revolt spread to every part of the kingdom. Of all the knights in England, only seven remained true to the king — and they were men of no repute among their fellows. At length, the barons led by Stephen Langton came with their armed men to London and boldly made known their demands.

"Why do you not ask me for my kingdom?" shouted John in great rage.

Everywhere, the people joined in the cry against the king's injustice. They gathered at the gates of the royal palace; by dozens and by hundreds they came from distant towns and counties, boldly demanding for themselves the rights of Englishmen.

The king was so badly frightened that he hid himself in his bedchamber. Then, when Stephen Langton found him and read to him a list of the grievances which he must redress, he fell into a great rage and declared that he would never, never submit. At last, however, when he found himself deserted and alone, he sent word to the barons that he would agree to whatever they desired and would meet them, when and where they chose, to sign their charter of liberties.

"Then," said the barons, "let the place be Runnymede, and let the time be the day after to-morrow, without delay or postponement."

And so it was agreed.



(38)

King John Signing the Great Charter

On Monday, the fifteenth of June, in the year twelve hundred and fifteen, the lords and barons came with their armed men to the place appointed — a marshy green meadow by the Thames, not far above London. Thither also went the king, very unwillingly; and, burning with rage, he then and there signed the Magna Charta — the Great Charter by which the inalienable rights of the English people were stated and acknowledged and, furthermore, assured to them so long as the English government should endure.

If ever you should visit the British Museum at London, you may see there the one copy of the Great Charter which still exists — a fire-scorched, shriveled parchment, with the seal and faded signature of the wretched king affixed. For more than seven centuries it has been preserved and revered as the earliest monument of English freedom. It is the oldest written guaranty of the privileges and liberties which we, in common with all English people, have inherited from our Saxon forefathers.

III

Let us take note of some of the inalienable rights that were guaranteed in the Great Charter.

Among many other things of less general importance, the king, as sovereign lord of the English nation, agreed and solemnly promised:

(1) That he would not require of the barons any unreasonable or oppressive services; the barons likewise agreeing to be equally mindful not to require burdensome duties of the common people who were their dependents.

(2) That no freeman should be imprisoned or otherwise punished except by judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land.

(3) That right or justice should not be sold, delayed, or denied to any man.

(4) That no taxes, fines, or impositions for the king's personal benefit should be levied except by consent of the common council of the realm.

(5) That the city of London and all other cities and boroughs and towns and ports should continue to enjoy the liberties and free customs which had belonged to them hitherto.

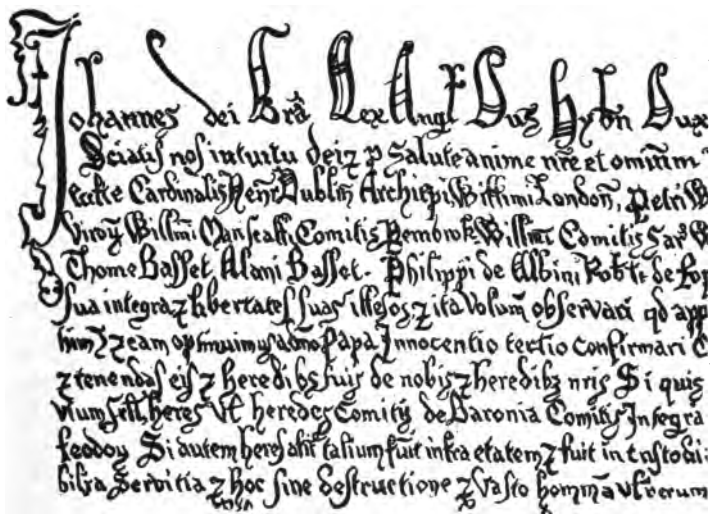
The king wrote his name and affixed his seal as the barons demanded; but this was not enough. For who could trust a king so false and so treacherous?

Accordingly, a council of twenty-five men, brave and true, was chosen to keep watch over him and force him to observe every agreement contained in the Charter.

At this the king's rage knew no bounds.

"They have given me five-and-twenty overlords!" he cried. And when he was safe back in his palace he threw himself upon the floor and raved like a caged beast.

A pretty sort of king he was; but there was no help for him. The Charter was published and made known wherever there were English men; and in every town meeting or hundred meeting throughout



Facsimile of a Part of the Great Charter

Saxon England brave men united in declaring that never should John Lackland or any other king be released from the promises and agreements specified and sworn to in that immortal document.

IV

The struggle between the people and one-man power, as embodied in a king, was by no means ended — nor indeed has it yet ceased. Nevertheless, the

signing of the Great Charter was a long step and a grand one towards the achievement of human liberty.

John Lackland's son and successor, Henry III, was but a boy when he became king. He was impulsive and ill-tempered, and wholly selfish. His one idea about government was that the people had no rights; and his one ambition was to win back the lands in France which his father had foolishly lost.

"What do I care for that Charter about which you are forever prating?" he asked. "It was won by force from my father, and I am not bound by it. I am the king, and I shall do as I please."

And so the conflict between the king and the people was renewed. So long as Stephen Langton lived, the cause of freedom had an able and fearless advocate. The Great Charter was his special care, and so great was his power that he more than once forced the king to observe its agreements. But after the death of this great patriot, things grew rapidly worse.

Henry, the new king, surrounded himself with foreign favorites, relatives and friends of his wife, whom he brought over from Brittany and France. They held all the high offices in the kingdom; they occupied the royal castles; they controlled the king's army. The English people were taxed and plundered and deprived of the rights that had been guaranteed to them by the Great Charter. All the power of government was in the hands of men who despised the principles that our forefathers had held sacred.

At this perilous time, however, another man — Simon de Montfort — came forward as the enemy of autocracy and the friend of human liberty. He was a native of France, a nobleman of high rank, a brother-in-law of the king — yet he is to this day revered among Englishmen as one of the world's greatest patriots.

One day when the king was out rowing on the Thames, a sudden thunderstorm caused him to hasten



Simon de Montfort and King Henry

to the nearer shore. The boat came to land close by the gardens of a well-known palace. As Henry was seeking shelter in the nearest doorway, a tall man, wrapped in a cloak, approached from the street.

"Ah, Sir Simon!" exclaimed the king, not too well pleased. "Is it you that I see?"

"Yes, it is I," answered the man; and pointing to the clouds, he added: "May it please your Majesty, the storm is already past. Only see! the clouds are breaking away, and the thunder grows feebler in the distance. There is no longer anything for you to fear."

"Fear!" cried the king, petulantly. "If I fear the thunder, Sir Simon, I fear *you* a thousand times more."

And well he might say this, for not long afterwards, when the barons had resolved to make war on Henry, as they had warred against his father, Sir Simon was among the first to give them aid.

For a long time this second war dragged along with varying success. Many weaker men, discouraged by failure, were ready to give up the fight; but Sir Simon, having once chosen his course, "stood by the great resolve he had taken, unshaken by promise of reward or by threat of death."

At last the cause of freedom prevailed. The fight was won by the barons, with the English people as their helpers and strong allies. The king was shorn of his power, his foreign friends were banished, and the Great Charter was again confirmed and declared

to be the law of the land. Saxon grit had again won the day.

To complete the humiliation of the king, it was decreed that a Parliament chosen by the common people should meet with the lords and bishops, three times each year, to consider the needs and welfare of the realm. This Parliament, which was the beginning of the present House of Commons and which was in truth the revival of the folk moot of our ancient forefathers, was first summoned by Sir Simon de Montfort in the year 1265, which is a date well worth remembering.

"Now England breathes in the hope of liberty!" wrote a poet of that day. "There was a time when Englishmen were looked upon as dogs; but now they have lifted up their heads and their foes are vanquished."

"The king should be in truth a king," he continues; "he is indeed a free king if only he rightly rules himself and his kingdom. All things are lawful to him for the right government of his kingdom, but nothing for its destruction.

"Let the commonalty of the realm advise, and let it be known what the people generally think of the matter. They who are ruled by the laws know those laws best."

It would be pleasing to end this chapter with an account of the complete overthrow of the kingly power and the lasting triumph of the people's cause

under the leadership of brave Simon de Montfort. But revolutions are fitful, and men are slow to discern the true nature and worth of human liberty. For a time the Great Earl, as he was called, was the real ruler of the realm, directing the government wisely and for the good of the people. King Henry, although still the nominal monarch, was held as a prisoner in his own house, helpless and without power. Every day, Sir Simon grew more and more in favor with the common people; but gradually, one by one, the jealous lord barons drew away from him and some were at last persuaded to give help and comfort to the king.

Civil war again broke out, and at Evesham on the Avon River, a desperate battle was fought between the friends of Earl Simon and the supporters of the king. It was a sad day for England and for freedom. Sir Simon's men were outnumbered, two to one. Many of them, being poorly armed, fled at the first onset and were slain in the fields and groves where they vainly tried to save themselves. The little group of knights around Sir Simon fought desperately, falling one by one till the earl was left alone. So bravely did he struggle that he had almost gained his safety when a lance thrust brought his horse to the ground; but still he refused to yield, till finally a blow from behind felled him. Then, with a last cry of "It is God's grace," the soul of the grand old patriot passed away.

V

Although Sir Simon was dead, the cause for which he had struggled still lived. The English people everywhere cherished his memory and honored him as a hero. The mere mention of his name gave them courage to resist the tyranny of the king, and filled their hearts with higher devotion to the spirit of freedom. For many years it was their custom to speak of him reverently as "Sir Simon the Righteous."

The king did not again dare to disregard the provisions of the Great Charter. He confirmed the laws that had been made during the rule of the Great Earl. He knew the temper and determination of the English people; and during the rest of his reign he attempted no act that was not approved by Parliament.

Through many succeeding centuries the spirit that actuated Stephen Langton and Simon de Montfort and numerous humbler patriots of those early times has not ceased to stir the hearts of true Englishmen. The Great Charter has remained the symbol and visible safeguard of human liberty. Whenever a king has been troublesome or tyrannical; whenever he has attempted to imprison or otherwise punish any of his subjects without trial by law; whenever he has tried, directly or indirectly, to rob them by levying unjust taxes — he has been sharply reminded of the Great Charter, and warned to beware lest he suffer the fate of King John.

SUPPLEMENTARY STUDIES

Compare the character of King John with that of Alfred the Great.

By what means had John become king of England?

What was his relationship to William the Conqueror?

Why were the English people dissatisfied with the acts and government of King John?

Who was Stephen Langton? Why is he called a patriot? Were the Norman barons actuated by patriotism, or only by selfish interests?

Where and what is Runnymede?

State five of the conditions to which King John agreed in the Great Charter.

What was the character of King Henry III?

Why did the common people revere and honor the memory of Sir Simon de Montfort? Why is he called a patriot?

Name some other early English patriots.

When and by whom was the English House of Commons first called into existence?

What classes of persons were represented in the House of Commons? What classes in the House of Lords?

Previous to the Norman Conquest, what was the highest law-making power called?

Who was the last English king chosen by this assembly, acting in its capacity as representative of the people?

Since the Norman Conquest how has the succession to the English crown been determined?

NOTE. — It has already been observed that the old laws and customs which had come down from our forefathers between the seas were quite generally confirmed by the Norman rulers and made uniform throughout the kingdom. As early as the reign of Henry II, perhaps much earlier, the country

was divided into districts, called circuits, each of which was a sort of center for local self-government. An officer, or judge, was appointed, whose duty it was to ride around the circuit and see that justice was administered alike to all, whether rich or poor.

Several of these judges, meeting together in London, composed what was called the King's Court; and this, in later times, grew into the king's Privy Council and finally into the British Cabinet, by which the government of the empire is really directed.

In both England and America, the circuit courts still survive and are an important part of the legal system of the country. In some places, the circuit judge still rides from town to town, as in the days of Henry II, holding his courts and interpreting the laws according to time-honored and long-established usage.

The House of Commons was not at first a wholly independent body, but was closely connected with the House of Lords. It was not until about sixty years after Sir Simon's first parliament that the knights and burgesses who had been chosen to represent the people separated themselves from the lords and bishops and sat apart as an independent body. This division of the law-making powers marked an era in the history of English liberty. We shall find that a similar division exists in the governing bodies of all English-speaking peoples at the present time.

THE CALL OF THE NEW WORLD

I

Nor until the days of great Elizabeth did many Englishmen know anything about the vast continent of North America. Some had vaguely heard how



Queen Elizabeth

John Cabot and his son had, once upon a time, sailed in English ships along a savage, barren coast on the farther side of the Western Sea. They had heard also that, in accordance with the custom of the times, the English king had taken possession, "by right of

discovery," of all that coast and whatever might lie beyond it. But there the matter ended, and no efforts were made to explore or occupy the mysterious, unknown land, which had thus so easily and unexpectedly been added to the English domains.

And so the years passed, and Englishmen for two generations scarcely knew of the existence of the vast, silent continent in the West that awaited their conquest. In the meanwhile, however, another nation was exploring the southern portions of that continent and becoming immensely rich and powerful by transporting to the Old World the treasures of Mexico and Peru and the islands of the sea. Spain, because of her discoveries, laid claim not only to the greater part of America, but to the Pacific Ocean and to all the islands that might be discovered in it.

For many years, none but Spanish ships were allowed to sail on the Pacific. Spanish trading vessels brought to Panama the rich merchandise of the Philippine Islands and the Far East. Other vessels brought to the same place the gold and silver that had been taken from the mines of Peru. All these treasures were then carried across the isthmus and loaded upon other ships to be taken to Spain. If this should continue, there was danger that Spain would soon rule the world and that all other nations, including England, would become her vassals.

At the old seaport town of Plymouth, in England, there was living at that time a sailor whose name

was Francis Drake. He was a true-born Englishman, for he was descended from the old-time Saxon sea



Sir Francis Drake

wolves who, a thousand years earlier, had terrorized the Northern Sea. When a mere boy, he had heard much talk about the Spanish; and as he had listened he grew angry at the thought that his own country was so poor and weak while Spain was so strong and great.

"Some time," he cried with emphasis, "I will show those overbearing Spaniards that the world does not all belong to them."

And with true Saxon grit in his heart, he made his words good. In spite of the Spanish, he made several trading expeditions to South America and the West Indies. At one time he tried to capture the Spanish treasure house at Darien; but in the moment of success, his men were panic-stricken, and he himself was severely wounded and forced to sail away empty-handed.

On another occasion, he led his company of daring men more than half way across the Isthmus of Panama. Having reached the highest ridge of the mountains, he climbed a tall tree and looked around him.

Southward, and apparently at his very feet, he saw the mighty Pacific, the South Sea, as the Spaniards called it, stretching away and away into the blue distance. No other Englishman had ever beheld that wonderful ocean. No ships save those of Spain had ever sailed upon it. The sight of the vast water, gleaming and sparkling in the sunlight, filled the heart of Drake with a great longing and an intense ambition. While still in the tree he solemnly vowed that, come what might, he would never rest until he had sailed an English ship upon that ocean.

The very next year, true to his vow, he did sail an English ship on the Pacific; and not only that, but he explored the whole of the western coast of America. Finally, steering boldly out into the great unknown, he made his way safely across the ocean to the Spice Islands and the Indian Ocean, then southward around the Cape of Good Hope and back to England. First of all Englishmen to sail around the world, Francis Drake well deserved the honor of knighthood which Queen Elizabeth soon afterwards conferred upon him.

Other exploits of scarcely less importance made the name of Sir Francis Drake worthy of remembrance as that of a true English hero in whom were exemplified those traits of courage and patriotism which all our kin have ever united in honoring. In the war with Spain, he led a strong expedition against the Spanish in the West Indies; he attacked St. Augustine, at

that time a Spanish outpost in Florida; and sailed along our Atlantic coast as far north as the capes of Virginia, carefully observing the bays and inlets and other possibilities for colonial enterprise.

Afterwards, in the great sea fight which culminated in the destruction of the Spanish Armada, Sir Francis Drake was one of the leading and most daring spirits. His countrymen honor him because he was the first to make England's power felt upon the sea. Americans remember him because it was he who first turned the attention of the English people to the possibilities of the vast unknown continent beyond the Western Sea.

II

Soon many people were talking about Sir Francis's adventurous voyages, and particularly concerning his discoveries along the North American coast. The old Saxon spirit of adventure was awakened, and men began to wonder whether the wild, unexplored regions just across the Atlantic might not yield as much wealth to England as Mexico and the more southern coasts had already yielded to Spain.

"Why not send out a company of brave men to establish a colony somewhere in that land of promise?" asked one whose name was Sir Humphrey Gilbert. "By exploring the coasts and the seas, we may not only find gold but discover a more northern and better route to the Far East, and thus win for Eng-

land a fair share of the treasures of India and Cathay, all of which now go to the enrichment of Spain."

Now Sir Humphrey had a half brother at the court of Queen Elizabeth — a man of great wealth and influence — whose name was Sir Walter Raleigh. Through Raleigh the project of colonization was laid before the queen, and the advantages of forming one or more settlements in America were carefully explained to her. She was so much pleased with the plan that she gave Sir Humphrey full permission to discover and colonize any lands in America that were not already held by Spain.



Sir Humphrey Gilbert

An expedition was at once organized, and five hundred gentlemen came forward and eagerly enrolled themselves as colonists. They were in no way fitted for such an undertaking; but were for the most part idlers and spendthrifts, who expected to have an easy time of it and pick up gold wherever they went.

With high hopes and visions of conquest they embarked in eleven small vessels and sailed westward, soon veering southward contrary to Sir Humphrey's commands. In mid-ocean they encountered a fleet of Spanish treasure ships, and in the fight which

followed were so badly worsted that they were glad to turn around and get back to England as best they could.

This was a bad beginning; but men like Gilbert and Raleigh knew no such thing as discouragement. Two years later they equipped a second expedition, which was to be commanded by Sir Humphrey in person. It consisted of four small ships on board of which were a number of colonists — not so-called gentlemen, but laborers, blacksmiths, wheelwrights, carpenters, and men for all sorts of business except the very necessary one of farming. The plan was to found a colony far to the north of the Spanish possessions; and there to establish outposts to serve as bases for future explorations.

The ships set sail under the fairest auspices, but ill fortune followed them. On the second day, a fever broke out on board of one of the vessels, and her captain decided to return home. The rest continued their voyage; but the sea was rough, the weather grew cold, and the would-be colonists were overwhelmed with discouragement. The first land which they sighted was the bleak and rocky coast of Newfoundland. What was there here to invite settlement? Should they sail onward through the stormy seas, hoping to find some better place? The men were already desperate; they grew mutinous and demanded to be taken back to England.

What could Sir Humphrey do but give orders for

the ships to turn about and sail for home? The sea was full of icebergs floating down from the frozen northern seas, the wind blew a fearful hurricane, the waves seemed mountain high; but in the midst of all these the brave commander maintained his cheerful courage. "Fear not," he shouted through the storm; "heaven is as near us on the sea as on the land."

The next morning, his ship went down. Of all that had sailed away so hopefully on that expedition, only one small vessel ever came back to England.

To Sir Humphrey Gilbert we may justly apply the worthy title of Father of English Colonization; for he was the first Englishman to endeavor to find on the American continent those "ampler spaces for heart and hand" and those broader fields for English enterprise from which have finally issued the prosperity and glory of a free people.

III

Thus the first two attempts to plant an English colony on American soil ended in disaster. Men with less courage and common sense would have yielded to despair; but not Sir Walter Raleigh. His was the true Saxon grit; failure only strengthened his determination to succeed.

The very next year after his brother's fateful adventure, he sent out two ships to explore the Atlantic

coast and find a suitable place in which to plant a colony. After an unusually pleasant voyage; the explorers sighted the long, low coast of Carolina, and



Sir Walter Raleigh

anchored somewhere in the shallow bay now called Albemarle Sound. The crews went ashore. They were delighted with everything they saw. The season was late summer, and all nature was at its best. Abundance of wild fruit was ripening in the woods; game was plentiful; the streams and inlets were alive with fish; and, what seemed best of all,

the Indians were friendly and told them of a country farther inland where gold might be picked up without labor by any who chose.

The explorers did not stay long in that delightful place, for the captains were impatient to carry the good news home. When they told Sir Walter of the

wonderful country they had discovered, he was pleased beyond measure. "It is there that I will plant my colony," he exclaimed; and to increase his favor with royalty, he named the entire region Virginia, in honor of Elizabeth, the virgin queen.

Preparations were immediately begun to plant an English colony somewhere on the Virginia shore. Two separate attempts were made, one after the other.

The first colony was composed of men whose sole thought was gold—men in no way fitted to become the founders of a new commonwealth. They would have perished with starvation had not Sir Francis Drake chanced, about that time, to sail along the coast with an English fleet. Seeing the piteous plight of the colonists, he kindly took them on board his ships and carried them home.

The second colony, consisting of men, women, and children, was more carefully chosen, and a little settlement was begun on Roanoke Island which, for a time, promised to be successful. But England was then at war with Spain, and Spanish ships were patrolling the seas. For nearly three years, no English vessel dared to visit the Virginia shore; and when, at length, a relief ship was sent out to Roanoke, the little settlement was found deserted and in ruins. What had become of the colonists no one could tell; nor has the mystery of their disappearance yet been solved.

Sir Walter Raleigh would never believe that they had perished. He sent out ship after ship to Virginia, hoping in vain to discover some trace of them. He thus spent a large part of his fortune without accomplishing that which lay nearest his heart; yet, through all his misfortunes and failures, he never ceased to believe that Virginia would in due time become the home land of a free and prosperous people.

His persevering efforts, however unfortunate, served to keep many Englishmen actively interested in the great unknown land beyond the Western Sea. They opened the way for the planting, a dozen years later, of the first successful English colony in America. While the great Raleigh himself was lying in prison, the victim of a tyrant king, other brave men, inspired by his example, laid the foundations of a permanent settlement at Jamestown; and his dream of a great free country in the New World began to be realized.

Englishmen remember Sir Walter Raleigh for his gallant services upon the seas, and especially for his heroism in the great fight with the Spanish Armada. Americans honor him for leading the way to the English colonization of their country, thus becoming the earliest of the founders of their free republic. All unite in esteeming and admiring him as a noble and most brilliant example of "Saxon grit," which means English perseverance and dauntless courage.¹

¹ Portions of this chapter and also of that which follows it have been adapted from Barnes's "Elementary History of the United States."

SUPPLEMENTARY STUDIES

The "spacious times of great Elizabeth" were made memorable and glorious by the lives and deeds of many men — heroes, statesmen, patriots, poets, scholars — whom Americans no less than Englishmen are proud to remember as kinsmen of the same Anglo-Saxon race. Notice the following names —

William Shakespeare	Edmund Spenser
Sir Francis Bacon	Sir William Cecil
Sir Philip Sidney	Martin Frobisher
Sir Richard Grenville	Ben Jonson

For what was each one of these men particularly distinguished? Tell all that you know about them.

Give an account of the Spanish Armada.

How were the growth and power of the English navy influenced by the achievements of Drake and other sea heroes of the time?

Tell how the history of America has also been largely shaped or affected by the deeds of these noted men.

Why are Americans proud to claim William Shakespeare as one of their own race?

Have we any reason to believe that Queen Elizabeth was a tyrannical ruler? Why?

In what respects was the cause of human liberty advanced during her reign?

The following books will be found interesting and valuable in connection with the study of this period:

Hale: Stories of Discovery told by Discoverers.

Hart: School History of the United States.

Abbot: The Discovery of America.

Towle: Sir Walter Raleigh.

Kingsley: Westward Ho!

THE BIRTH OF AMERICAN LIBERTY

I

DURING the reign of Elizabeth a number of laws were enacted to regulate the religious beliefs and practices of the people. The queen was declared to be the head of the Church; and all her subjects were required to worship in the same manner,



A Puritan

performing the ceremonies which were prescribed in her prayer book. Many persons who considered themselves good members of the English Church were opposed to this system; they objected to some of the ceremonies; and they claimed the right to worship in such manner as

their consciences required. These persons were called Puritans, because they wished, as they said, to purify the Church.

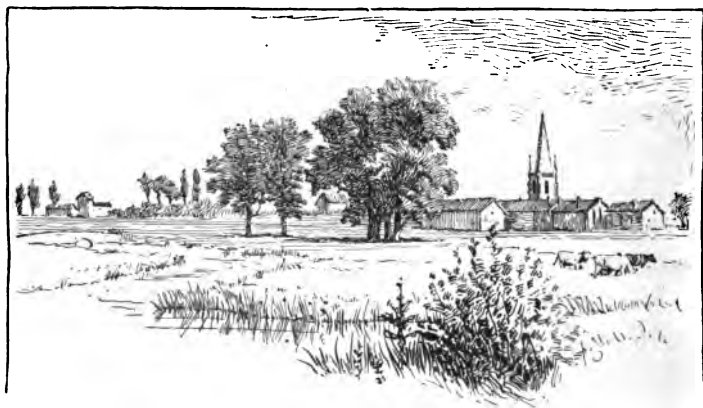
So long as Elizabeth was queen, the Puritans were not much molested, and the objectionable laws were seldom enforced. The queen and her ministers were wise enough to see that she needed the friendship of the Puritans; and they, on the other hand, were careful in all respects to comport themselves as good and loyal subjects.

After the queen's death, however, the question of religious freedom assumed much greater importance. All over the kingdom men and women were imprisoned and fined for daring to think and say what they believed to be true and right. And the more these people were punished the more obstinately they stood up in defense of what they believed to be the liberties which had descended to them from their ancient forefathers.

II

At Scrooby, in the northeastern part of England, there was living at that time a man of property and influence whose name was William Brewster. He was well-educated, brave, and conscientious; and the people who were his neighbors looked up to him as their leader. He was very bold in declaring that he would not attend the established church, but would worship according to his own convictions of truth and right. Several of his friends agreed with him, and so they united in forming a church of their own which should be free from the king's control. They

chose for their pastor a godly man whose name was John Robinson; and William Brewster was, by common consent, their ruling elder. Having thus separated themselves from the Church of England, they soon became known as Separatists, to distinguish



The Church at Scrooby

them from other Puritans, who still remained in the Church of England.

When it became known that the Separatists were holding meetings and worshipping in their own way, steps were at once taken by the king's officers to punish them. Some were beaten, some were put in prison, and William Brewster, besides being deprived of his property, was sentenced to pay a heavy fine.

Brewster would not pay this fine, and when officers were sent to arrest him he could not be found; but,

from his safe hiding place, he was doing what he could to defend and help his friends. Many of them were houseless and homeless, and there seemed to be no place of safety for them in all England.

"Whither shall we go? Where shall we find the liberty which is our birthright?" these men anxiously inquired.

Now at that time there was only one country in Europe in which men were free to worship God as they chose. That country was Holland. The people of Holland had descended from the same sturdy Saxon stock as the English; and they were devoted to the same spirit of freedom that had animated our common ancestors. As an independent nation they had outstripped our English forefathers in their race for liberty. William Brewster had once lived in Holland, and he knew the people well.

"It is a goodly country," he said, "and it is the only place where we can escape persecution."

The Separatists were all anxious to go thither; but how could they? Every port in England was shut against them. They could not go; they dared not stay.

At length a Dutch sea captain was found who offered to take them on board of his small vessel in a secluded inlet far from any town. As many of the men as could get into a rowboat were taken out to the ship, while the women and children and some others waited on shore. But hardly had the men reached

the ship when a great mob of country people came running with clubs and stones to attack the helpless waiting ones. The Dutch captain hastily hauled in his anchor, and hoisting his sails, made all speed away towards Holland.

The poor people who had been left behind were



A Street in Leyden, Holland

beaten and driven from town to town, not being allowed even the shelter of a prison. The story of their sufferings was told throughout England. It touched the hearts of many true Englishmen and even of some of their persecutors. It aroused a kindly feeling towards them; and at length they were permitted to sail to Holland. They went, a few at

a time, and were soon rejoiced to meet there their good pastor, Robinson, and their faithful elder, William Brewster.

In Leyden, where most of the exiles settled, they were free to worship as they chose; but they were not happy. As the years went by, their discontent increased. Holland was not like home. Their children, when they grew up, would be Dutchmen, not Englishmen. They could not bear the thought of it.

"We are but sojourners and pilgrims in a strange land," they declared; and from that saying they have ever since been called Pilgrims.

At length some said, "Why not go to that vast new country called America? There we may be a people apart from others, free to do as we wish, and sure that our children will not forget the language of their fathers."

The idea was a pleasing one; it was talked over often and was made the subject of special prayer. But to what part of America should they go? They could not settle in Virginia, for the colony at Jamestown — now twelve years founded — had set up the Church of England with which the Pilgrims had no sympathy. They were unwilling to settle with the Dutch at Manhattan — they might as well stay in Holland. But all the rest of the long Atlantic coast from Florida to Canada was unoccupied, and they might select whatever place they deemed best. At last they agreed to make trial of some spot in the

region adjoining Delaware Bay, although most of them were as ignorant of that region as of China or of the Mountains of the Moon.

The next thing necessary was to obtain the king's permission to settle in the unknown country of which he was supposed to be the owner. Two of the Pilgrims therefore went to London and humbly laid the matter before him.

"It is a good and honest notion," said King James; "but how will you make a living in that barren land?"

"By fishing," they answered.

"That is a fine trade," returned the king; but he would give no satisfactory reply to their petition.

A whole year passed while they patiently waited the king's pleasure. At length James gave them to understand that the Pilgrims might go to any part of America they pleased, and that if they behaved themselves properly they should not be molested.

The Pilgrims were glad enough of this. They began at once to get ready for their perilous voyage; but many hindering things delayed them, and months passed before they were able to embark.

III

On a day in July, 1620, those who were to go to the New World bade good-by to their friends in Holland, and sailed for Southampton in England. There, after still further delays, as many as possible embarked in the staunch little ship called the *May-*

flower and turned their faces hopefully towards the vast, unknown land in the distant West.

It was a long, hard voyage. For two months the Pilgrims were tossed and buffeted by the waves. A furious storm drove them far out of their course; and when at last they sighted land, it was not the Delaware Bay region, but the low sandy coast of Cape Cod, hundreds of miles from their intended port.

They sailed around the northern point of the cape and cast anchor in the harbor near where the village of Provincetown now stands. The first thing these men and women did when they saw the solid land once more was to fall on their knees and thank God for his manifold mercy in "bringing them safe over the vast and furious deep."

Before going on shore, the men of the company assembled in the cabin of the *Mayflower* and there, after due discussion, signed their names to an article of agreement whereby the first free government of the people by the people was established in America. This famous article is known in history as the "Mayflower Compact." Humble though its origin, and limited its scope, it is to be remembered as one of the great waymarks in the progress of human freedom, the forerunner of all our declarations of independence, and of all our constitutions, both state and national.

Thus liberty was born in America and the right was established whereby men might be governed as they, "by common consent, should choose."



THE MAYFLOWER COMPACT

IN the name of God, amen.

We whose names are underwritten, the loyal subjects of our dread sovereign, King James, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland king, defender of the faith, etc., having undertaken for the glory of God and advancement of the Christian faith, and honor of our king and country a voyage to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia, do by these presents solemnly and mutually in the presence of God and of one another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politic, for our better ordering and preservation and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by virtue hereof to enact, constitute, and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, and offices from time to time as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the Colony, unto which we promise all due submission and obedience.

In witness whereof we have hereunder subscribed our names at Cape Cod, the eleventh of November, in the year of the reign of our sovereign lord, King James of England, France, and Ireland the eighteenth, and of Scotland the fifty-fourth, Anno Domini, 1620.

Signed by John Carver and forty-one others on board of the *Mayflower*.

THE MAYFLOWER¹

METHINKS I see it now, that one solitary and adventurous vessel, the Mayflower of a forlorn hope, freighted with the prospects of a future state, and bound across the unknown sea.

I behold it pursuing, with a thousand misgivings, the uncertain, the tedious voyage. Suns rise and set, and weeks and months pass, and winter surprises them on the deep, but brings them not the sight of the wished-for shore.

I see them now, scantily supplied with provisions, crowded almost to suffocation in their ill-stored prison, delayed by calms, pursuing a circuitous route; and now driven in fury before the raging tempest, on the high and giddy waves. The awful voice of the storm howls through the rigging. The laboring masts seem straining from their base; the dismal sound of the pumps is heard; the ship leaps, as it were, madly from billow to billow; the ocean breaks and settles with engulfing floods over the floating deck and beats with deadening weight against the staggering vessel.

I see them escape from these perils, pursuing their all but desperate undertaking, and, landed at last, after a five-months' passage, on the ice-clad rocks of Plymouth—weak and weary from the voyage, poorly armed, scantily provisioned, without shelter, without means, surrounded by hostile tribes.

¹ Extract from an oration by Edward Everett.

Shut now the volume of history, and tell me, on any principle of human probability what shall be the fate of this handful of adventurers?

Tell me, man of military science, in how many months were they all swept off by the thirty savage tribes, enumerated within the early limits of New England?

Tell me, politician, how long did this shadow of a colony, on which your conventions and treaties had not smiled, languish on the distant coast?

Student of history, compare for me the baffled projects, the deserted settlements, the abandoned undertakings of other times, and find a parallel of this. Was it the winter's storm, beating upon the unsheltered heads of women and children; was it hard labor and spare meals; was it disease; was it the tomahawk; was it the deep malady of a blighted hope, a ruined enterprise, and a broken heart, aching, in its last moments, at the recollection of the loved and left, beyond the sea — was it some or all of these united that hurried this forsaken company to their melancholy fate?

Or is it possible that none of these causes, that not all combined, were able to blast this bud of hope? Is it possible that, from a beginning so feeble, so frail, so worthy not so much of admiration as of pity, there has gone forth a progress so steady, a growth so wonderful, a reality so important, a promise so glorious?

— EDWARD EVERETT

THE LANDING OF THE PILGRIMS

THE breaking waves dashed high
On a stern and rock-bound coast;
And the woods, against a stormy sky,
Their giant branches tossed;
And the heavy night hung dark
The hills and waters o'er,
When a band of exiles moored their bark
On the wild New England shore.

Not as the conqueror comes,
They, the true-hearted, came;
Not with the roll of the stirring drums,
And the trumpet that sings of fame;
Not as the flying come,
In silence and in fear —
They shook the depths of the desert's gloom
With their hymns of lofty cheer.

Amidst the storm they sang,
And the stars heard, and the sea;
And the sounding aisles of the dim woods rang
To the anthem of the free.
The ocean eagle soared
From his nest by the white wave's foam,
And the rocking pines of the forest roared;
This was their welcome home!

There were men with hoary hair
Amidst that pilgrim band;
Why had they come to wither there,
Away from their childhood's land?
There was woman's fearless eye,
Lit by her deep love's truth;
There was manhood's brow, serenely high,
And the fiery heart of youth.

What sought they thus afar?
Bright jewels of the mine?
The wealth of seas? the spoils of war?
They sought a faith's pure shrine.
Aye, call it holy ground,
The soil where first they trod.
They have left unstained what there they found —
Freedom to worship God!

— FELICIA HEMANS



The Mayflower

SUPPLEMENTARY STUDIES

Refer to any popular or school history of England, and be prepared to discuss the following questions:

Tell something about the character and the reign of King Henry VIII.

What queen attempted to reëstablish the Roman Catholic religion in England? Give some account of her reign.

When and by what right did Elizabeth become queen of England?

Name some of the great men who made her reign illustrious. In what respects did these men advance the cause of human liberty?

What king succeeded Elizabeth as sovereign of the English people? What right had he to the throne?

What was his character? What were his qualifications as a ruler of men?

Who were the Puritans, and why were they so called? During whose reign did they originate?

In what respects did the Pilgrims differ from other Puritans? Why were they called Separatists?

Where did the Pilgrims finally establish their colony?

Why should they be remembered and honored as the first champions and defenders of liberty in America? What Anglo-Saxon traits of character did they especially display?

COMMONS AGAINST KING

I

FOUR hundred and thirteen years after the signing of the Great Charter a king was crowned who had no respect for charters and no love for his people. The name of that king was Charles Stuart; and because there was a later sovereign of the same name, he is known in history as Charles the First. Next to John Lackland, he was the worst foe to freedom that ever sat upon the throne of England.

He very soon made it known that he expected to have his own way in spite of people and Parliament. He declared that God had given him the right to rule, and that he would not be called to account by anybody. Was he not king? Were not the English people his property, to do with as he pleased? As for human liberty, what was it? It was the right of the king alone. The people existed only for his pleasure.

He wanted money to carry on a foolish war with Spain; and as his treasury was empty he ordered the House of Commons to get it for him by levying a tax upon the people. The Commons agreed to give him a part of what he demanded; but they said they would hold back the rest until he should agree to restore to

the people all the liberties and privileges which by right belonged to them.

This of course was not at all to the king's liking. He flew into a rage and commanded the Commons



Charles I

to make haste and do his bidding or he would show them that he could rule without their help or hindrance. "Remember," he said, "that Parliaments are altogether in my power; and therefore, as I find their acts to be good or evil, they are to continue or not continue."

He then began to raise money for himself in his own way. He commanded the people to lend him

large sums, and sent officers and armed men into every county and town to oblige them to pay. If a poor man was unable to lend what was required, he was made to join the army or the navy. If a rich man refused, he was put in prison.

And now John Hampden, a member of the House of Commons and a man of great influence, came boldly forward in defense of the people's rights. The sum of money which he was required to lend was small, and he might easily have given a hundred times as much. But he was a patriot and, as such, he was contending for a principle most dear to every true patriot's heart.

"I might be content to lend," he said; "but I fear to draw upon myself that curse in the Great Charter, which should be read twice a year, against those who disregard it."

For this bold answer, he was shut up in prison without any reason being given except that the king had ordered it. His treatment in prison was so cruel that, when he was at length set free, his friends scarcely knew him; and one of them wrote, "He never afterwards did look like the same man as he was before."

All over the kingdom men were beginning to ask, "Are not these acts of the king in violation of the Great Charter by which the inherent rights of Englishmen have been assured through many centuries? Is not King Charles trampling upon the liberties which belong to us as a free people?"

To silence such complaints the king had these questions submitted to the high court whose judges were in his pay. After due deliberation the judges decided that there had been no violation of the Char-

ter, and therefore no trampling upon the people's liberties.

"Such acts," said they, "would be wrong; and everybody should know that the king cannot do wrong."

II

Soon, however, Charles found out that it was not so easy to rule and rob a discontented people; and he called another Parliament.

John Hampden had been released from prison, and his friends and neighbors at once reelected him to the House of Commons. The king was still clamoring for money. The Commons listened to his demands, and then agreed to levy certain taxes, provided he would give his full and solemn assent to a document which they had prepared and now laid before him.



John Hampden

This document, which was in fact a second great charter of liberties, is known in history as the Petition of Right. It was in some respects very similar to the Great Charter of King John. It provided, among other things:

(1) That the free men of England should never again be forced to lend money to the king.

(2) That no taxes whatever should be levied upon the people without the consent of their representatives in the House of Commons.

(3) That no person should be imprisoned except after due trial according to law.

(4) That no Englishman should be compelled, contrary to his wishes, to entertain soldiers or sailors in his house.

(5) That no person should be tried by martial law in times of peace.

It was no easy matter for Charles to agree to all these provisions, for he had already violated every one of them and was determined to violate them again at the first opportunity. But he wanted money very badly, he wanted it without delay, and the only way to get it was through the House of Commons. After all, was he not king, and might he not break his word whenever he saw fit?

"A fig for all your Petitions of Right," we hear him saying disdainfully, as he signs his name without any intention of keeping his promises.

Now all might have gone well if Charles Stuart had been an honest man; but he had already given proof that he could not be trusted.

No sooner had the Commons agreed to levy the tax than he renewed his old practices of robbing and imprisoning his subjects. "There is no law to bind me to this agreement. I am the king; and the king is above all law."

What could Parliament do now? It was a time for Saxon grit to assert itself once more to save the country from the tyranny of such a king.

Sir John Eliot, another patriot whose name should be remembered, arose in the House of Commons and offered a series of resolutions condemning the recent acts of the king. At once there was great confusion, and the speaker of the House—who was friendly to Charles—got up to leave the room. This would have obliged the Parliament to adjourn without doing any further business; but two members of the House immediately seized him and held him down in the chair. “You shall sit until we please to rise,” said one whose name was Denzil Holles.

Some of the members rose to leave the room; but the door was locked.

Then Sir John Eliot again read the resolutions and called upon the speaker to do his duty by putting them to a vote. The speaker refused; but Denzil Holles, standing by his chair, took that duty upon himself, and the resolutions were passed by a large majority.

These resolutions stated very plainly what all patriotic men thought of the king's high-handed acts. They declared that any person who advised the levy of taxes without the consent of Parliament, or who in any way opposed the Petition of Right, was an enemy to the people and a betrayer of human liberty. This was strong language and was aimed

not only at the king, but at his ministers and chief advisers.

The Parliament had done its work. When the king heard about it, he went down with his officers and armed guards to let the Commons know that he had no respect for them. He made a speech in which he called those who had voted against him all sorts of vile names; then he dissolved the two Houses, sent the members to their homes, and for eleven years actually ruled without a Parliament.

As for Sir John Eliot and the two men who had held the speaker in his chair, they were locked up in prison; and there, some time afterward, Sir John died — “the first martyr of English liberty.”

III

What of the king during those twelve years in which he ruled alone? We may be sure that he paid no heed to the Great Charter nor yet to the Petition of Right which he had signed with his own hand. He seized upon the goods and money of his subjects whenever it suited his pleasure. He impoverished the people by unjust taxation. He made promises only to break them. He punished without law or mercy those who dared to oppose him.

Having discovered a very old law requiring the people of seacoast towns to pay for ships to defend the coast, Charles made use of this as an excuse to raise more money. He levied a tax which he called

"ship-money tax." It made no difference whether a town was on the coast or far inland, its people must pay for ships just the same. Of course, the ships were never built, and everybody knew that the money would be used, not for the public good, but for the king's pleasure.

And now John Hampden came forward again as the champion of liberty. He refused to pay ship money, and advised all his friends to do likewise. Of course he was imprisoned again and his property was seized to pay the unjust tax. These things served to make the people more and more determined to resist; and John Hampden became for a time the most popular man in England.



Sir John Eliot

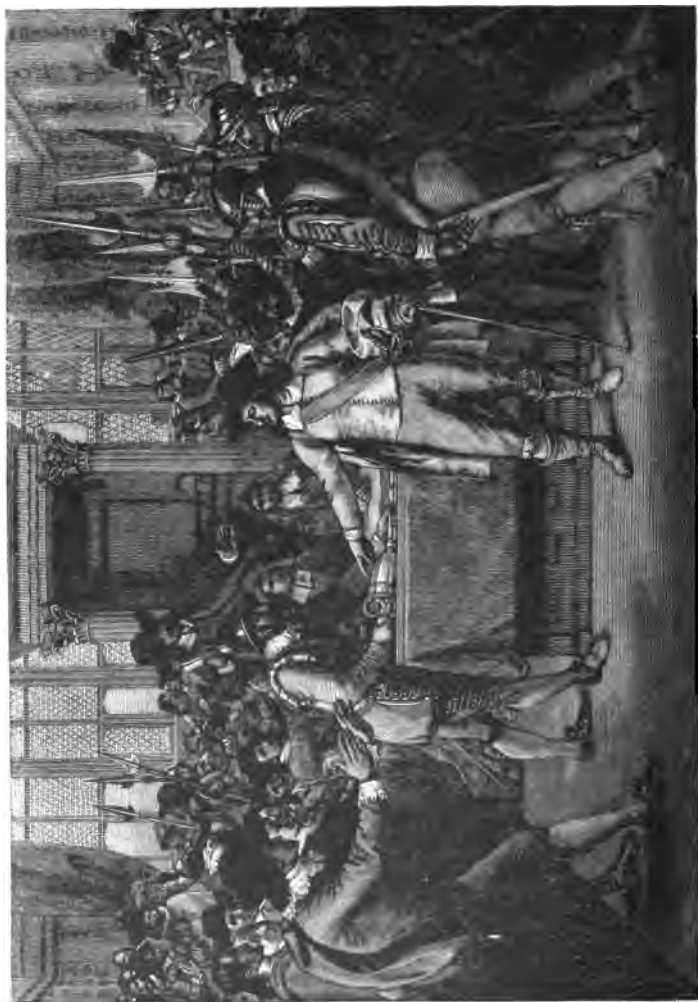
Besides Hampden and Sir John Eliot, there were other patriots who made their voices heard in defense of human rights. Chief among these was John Pym, a man of much ability and power. He declared that in all matters of government, the House of Commons was and must be superior to the king, and that everywhere and at all times the will of the people must stand above everything else. And so fearless and dignified was he in all his words and actions that both friends and enemies united in calling him "King Pym."

IV

Long before the twelve years had passed, mutterings of rebellion began to be heard in all parts of the land; for the king was determined not only to rule without law, but to oblige all persons to conform to his own ideas of religion and worship. Already the Scottish people had risen in arms because Charles was trying to force them to use the same prayer books and perform the same ceremonies that were required in his own church. In many parts of England, also, there were large numbers of Puritans and Independents who were demanding the right to believe and worship, not as the king should say, but as their own consciences might dictate. Many other men and women, rather than endure the king's oppression, had already sailed across the sea, to find new homes and freedom in America.

V

At length, thoroughly frightened by the storm that was threatening him, Charles called another Parliament. To this Parliament came John Pym and John Hampden and other patriots, now more than ever determined that justice and truth should prevail. Very fearlessly they discussed the various acts of the king, and fearlessly they resolved not to grant him his wishes until he had solemnly bound himself to observe all the conditions and agreements of the Great



Cromwell dissolving the Long Parliament

Charter and the Petition of Right. King Charles, seeing that he would gain nothing from such a Parliament, fell into a great rage and dissolved it. It had lasted only twenty-three days, and for that reason it is known in history as the Short Parliament.

Charles had learned by this time that he could not rule alone; and such was his extremity that he was soon obliged to call another Parliament. This Parliament is known as the Long Parliament; for it lasted nearly twenty years, or until it was dissolved by the sturdy old Puritan patriot, Oliver Cromwell.

The Commons soon declared their independence of the king, and a desperate civil war ensued. Battle after battle was fought, sometimes ending in favor of the king's men; sometimes in favor of the champions of freedom. In a desperate fight on Chalgrove Hill, near Oxford, John Hampden, leading a body of horsemen, bravely met his death. He died as he had lived, battling for human liberty.

Every boy or girl who has studied history knows how this war between king and Commons ended. Charles was finally beaten and obliged to give himself up. A High Court of Justice composed of one hundred and thirty-five persons was appointed by the Parliament to try him on the charge of treason. At the end of the trial the court pronounced sentence of death upon him as a tyrant and traitor.

Thus, for a short period, Liberty was again triumphant.

SUPPLEMENTARY STUDIES

Read some brief history of England covering the period from the overthrow of Charles I to the reign of Queen Anne.

Why did John Hampden and other patriots refuse to pay forced loans and ship money?

What part did the Puritans take in the war of the Commons against the king? Who were some of the leading Puritans?

Tell about the Puritan migration to America during the reign of Charles I.

Find out from English histories and reference books all that you can about Oliver Cromwell.

Name the leading English patriots of this period. Why do you think they were patriots?

After the death of Charles I, how long did the Commonwealth continue? Was this change in the government a help or a hindrance to the progress of human liberty?

Why did the English people finally permit the rule of kings to be restored?

Tell of the causes which led to the colonization of Maryland; of Pennsylvania.

What contribution to the story of liberty was made by Lord Baltimore; by William Penn? Were these men patriots?

The following books will be of interest to you while studying this period:

Theodore Roosevelt: Oliver Cromwell.

H. A. Guerber: The Story of the English.

Hale: The Fall of the Stuarts.

Scott: Legend of Montrose (fiction).

Scott: Woodstock (historical novel, 1651).

Edna Lyall: To Right the Wrong (story of John Hampden and the Civil War).

Quiller-Couch: The Splendid Spur (tale of the time of Charles I).

ENGLAND UNDER GERMAN KINGS

I

IN the days of Queen Anne there was living in Germany a very aged lady whose name was Sophia. Her husband, who was dead, had been the ruler of the little state of Hanover, and because he had a voice in electing the emperor, he bore the honorable title of Elector of Hanover.

Now Sophia was a granddaughter of that same James I of England, who, some eighty years before, had made such a stir among the Puritans. She was therefore a second cousin to Queen Anne, who was a great-granddaughter of the same monarch. Anne was growing old, and all her children were dead. The question which most disturbed the minds of English statesmen was, "Who shall succeed the good queen when she is gone?" In order to avert civil war between the various claimants



Queen Anne

to the crown, it was very desirable that this question should be settled by law while Anne was still living.

The nearest relative, and therefore the one who might be supposed to have the best right, was the queen's half-brother, James Stuart. But he was a Roman Catholic, and Parliament had passed a law that no Roman Catholic should inherit the crown; for in those times religion and politics were much more closely related than now. The young James Stuart, who was known as the Pretender, was therefore passed over as not qualified to succeed his Protestant sister.

The next nearest relative was Sophia of Hanover, and although she was German-born and very old, it was declared by act of Parliament that the English crown should descend to her and her heirs.

Sophia, however, did not live to become queen of England. She died a few weeks before Queen Anne, and the latter, in due time, was succeeded by Sophia's son, who is known in history as King George the First.

George had already succeeded his father as Elector of Hanover; and he was an elderly man, fifty-four years of age, when he crossed the sea to become king of England. He was a thorough German. He could neither speak, read, nor understand the English language. He knew very little about England or its people; and his chief interest in them was centered in the honors and profits which might come to

him as their ruler. "His one care was to get money for himself and his friends," but he was wise enough to know how to do this without stirring up enemies as John Lackland and Charles Stuart had done. His manners were coarse and undignified, and his mind was that of a very ordinary German. He was king of England because his maternal great-grandfather, a hundred years before, had also been king — and this, to many people at that time, seemed to be reason enough.

It was well for human liberty that Englishmen had learned to carry on most of the business of government without



George I

much help or interference from the king. It was fortunate also for England that there came to the front of affairs at this time a very able, although unscrupulous, statesman, Sir Robert Walpole, who understood the needs of the country far better than any German king could understand them. Under his leadership as prime minister, the real government of the country was conducted for the most part by the

select council now known as the British Cabinet. While this did not deprive the king of all power to do wrong, it relieved him, if he chose, of much responsibility and labor. And in the meanwhile, George of Hanover lived his quiet life in the palace provided for him, eating and sleeping, and partaking of the people's bounty — as useless, if not as powerless, as any other public pauper in the kingdom.

II

When George the First died, after an inglorious reign of thirteen years, another royal incompetent of German birth was ready to succeed him. This was his son, George, a dull, obstinate, ill-mannered fellow who loved his native Hanover much better than England.

George the Second was forty-four years old when he began to reign; and since his boyhood he had done nothing worthy of note except to quarrel constantly with his father. He was a small man and not at all kingly in appearance; but he liked to play soldier and march in dress parades, and for this reason, and because he was supposed to be very brave, he was nicknamed the "Little Captain." He was miserly and had a habit of counting his money in his pocket, which seemed to give him as much pleasure as ruling a kingdom.

He had never been friendly to his father's prime

minister, Sir Robert Walpole; and he would have been glad to dismiss him in favor of one of his own favorites. But his wife, Queen Caroline, who was much wiser than he, objected to any change, and the great statesman was retained until his resignation fifteen years later. The result was that very few changes were made in the policy or management of the government, and England enjoyed a long period of peace and prosperity.

Although many important events happened during the reign of the second George, the influence of the king, whether for good or for bad,

was slight, while the influence of Parliament and of the people steadily increased. The king was too much occupied with his own petty affairs, and his mind was too narrow and weak to permit of his distinguishing himself in any way. As in his earlier life he had been always quarreling with his father, so, during the greater part of his reign, he lived constantly on bad terms with his son and heir, Prince Frederick. He died in 1760. His son having died some time pre-



George II

viously, he was succeeded by his grandson, George Frederick William, who is known in history as George the Third.

III

The third George was less German than his predecessors only because he had been born and educated in England; but he possessed all the selfishness, the stubbornness, and the foolish egotism that characterized his ancestors.

He had been but imperfectly educated; and his mind was very early filled with lofty notions of the powers and rights of a king. His mother's constant reminder to him was, "George, be a king!" and accordingly his chief aim and ambition was to be, not a puppet, but a king in earnest. The first two Georges had been content to enjoy the easy life of monarchs and let the people rule themselves through Parliament and the cabinet ministers; but the third George had made up his mind to be not only the nominal king but the real ruler of England.

He began, therefore, by stirring up dissensions among the Whigs who had been long in power; and he surrounded himself with unprincipled favorites who formed themselves into a new party known as the "King's Friends." The fate of Charles I and of James II had shown him the danger of violating or ignoring the ancient laws of England; but the plan

which he followed was equally contrary to the people's interests and subversive of human liberty. His design was to control the country by forcing the members of Parliament to vote in accordance with his own wishes. Members who refused to do so were made to understand that they must expect no favors from the king; and if they held offices under the government, they were to be immediately dismissed. On the other hand, those who complied with the king's wishes were to be rewarded with all sorts



George III

of gifts and promotions. Many members were openly bribed with money; and men of all conditions, from the highest nobleman to the humblest commoner, were found ready to support whatever measure the party of the King's Friends proposed. Lord Bute, an unprincipled court favorite, was appointed prime minister; and for a time the current of political events seemed again to be setting strongly towards royal despotism and the suppression of free government.

It was at this period that the trouble with the English colonies in America had its beginning.

SUPPLEMENTARY STUDIES

Study the events of this period as narrated in some good school history, and then discuss the following topics:

Give an account of the reign of Queen Anne.

Who was her father? Whom had he succeeded as king of England?

Why had he been expelled from the throne?

What is the uprising in 1688 commonly called?

Who were William and Mary?

Why did the English people prefer them to James II?

By what right did Anne succeed to the throne?

Name in their order all the kings and queens of the Stuart dynasty.

What was their general character? Is there any reason why such people should be entrusted with the government of a nation?

Has *reason* ever played a great part in the making or choosing of kings?

The following books may be read or referred to in connection with this period:

Morris: The Age of Anne.

Mrs. Oliphant: The Reign of Queen Anne.

Thackeray: The Four Georges.

Thackeray: Henry Esmond (novel, time of Queen Anne).

Adams: The Merry Monarch (Charles II).

Conan Doyle: Micah Clarke (historical tale, 1685).

COLONIES AND KING

WHEN George III became king of England no person had as yet dreamed of any such nation as the United States of America. True, the country was in existence, just as it is to-day, stretching from ocean to ocean, with its rivers and lakes, its vast plains and everlasting mountains. Much the greater part of it was unexplored and unoccupied — claimed by Great Britain and other European nations. It was savage and untilled, and gave but feeble promise of the mighty nation that would in time take root and be established there.

We have already seen how, after long delays and in spite of many obstacles, the first two English colonies were planted in America. In the time of George III the number of such colonies had increased to thirteen. Virginia, the oldest of these settlements, had been in existence more than a hundred and fifty years; Georgia, the youngest, had scarcely reached the years of a man's voting age. Nearly all the inhabitants of these colonies were English people or the children of English people. They thought and spoke of England as their home country; to England they gave their allegiance and their love; and from England they expected the protection due from a parent.

"The temper of the colonies toward England,"

said Benjamin Franklin, "was the best in the world. Natives of Britain were always treated with particular regard; and to be an Old England man was of itself a character of some respect, and gave a kind of rank among us."

True, the colonists had reasons to feel that they were not always treated with fairness; and the overbearing manners of certain upstart Englishmen had sometimes made them wince. The king and his favorites had caused some very odious laws to be enacted; they had forbidden the colonists to trade with any country but Great Britain; they would not allow them to manufacture articles of iron for their own use; they had restricted their industries in various other ways. But while the colonists smarted under the injustice of these acts, their inborn sense of loyalty to the mother country caused them to endure with patience that which otherwise would have been resisted as rank tyranny.

And now came George III with his German ideas of the powers and privileges of kings. When some of the colonists dared to stand up and petition for the rights which they had inherited as free-born Englishmen, he treated them with scorn. "Who are these Americans," he asked, "that they should have any rights whatever? We have just now ended a long and victorious war with France — a war which will not fail to bring increased security and prosperity to our colonies. The colonists must pay a large

share of the expenses of that war. No matter what they may think of it, their taxes must be increased."

No sooner was the scheme of taxation proposed than it was approved and ratified by the King's Friends, at the head of whom was the prime minister, Sir George Grenville. No thought was given to the fact that the colonists had already given more than their share of money and of precious lives in the prosecution of the late war: they must be taxed simply because such was the will of the king. To carry out this idea, various laws were from time to time enacted by Parliament through the influence of Grenville and his supporters. The most odious of these enactments was the Stamp Act, a law which required that all legal documents and newspapers in America should bear stamps bought of the government and paid for by the colonists.

This law was a failure from the start. The people ignored it. The newspapers were printed without being stamped; and public business both in and out of the courts went on, just as though no Stamp Act had been passed.

Equally troublesome were the so-called Townshend Acts, which required the payment of duties upon tea, glass, and other articles of merchandise imported into the colonies.

Hitherto, each of the thirteen colonies had pursued its separate existence, concerning itself but little with the affairs of its neighbors; but now the thought

of oppression awakened the idea of kinship and of common interests; and from New Hampshire to Georgia, a united cry was heard protesting against the unjust acts of the king and his ministers. Nor was this cry confined to America. In Old England the same spirit of justice was alive that had prevailed in the times of John Lackland and Charles Stuart; but it was in part restrained through the influence of the king, no less than through the selfish desire of some well-meaning Englishmen to allow the colonists to fight their own battles.

Nevertheless, in both houses of Parliament, powerful voices were heard — the voices of Lord Chatham, of Edmund Burke, and of other broadminded, noble-hearted Englishmen — vigorously demanding for their kin in America the rights which were theirs as freemen of the Anglo-Saxon race.



WHAT COLONEL ISAAC BARRÉ SAID ABOUT THE TREATMENT OF THE COLONISTS¹

THE honorable member has asked, "Will these Americans, children planted by our care, nourished by our indulgence, and protected by our arms — will they grudge to contribute their mite?"

They planted by your care? No. Your oppressions planted them in America. They fled from your tyranny to a then uncultivated and inhospitable country, where they exposed themselves to almost all the hardships to which human nature is liable; and yet, actuated by principles of true English liberty, our American brethren met these hardships with pleasure, compared with those they had suffered in their own country from the hands of those that should have been their friends.

They nourished by your indulgence? They grew by your neglect. As soon as you began to care about them, that care was exercised in sending persons to rule them — men whose behavior, on many occasions, has caused the blood of those sons of liberty to recoil within them.

¹ From a speech in the English House of Commons when the king proposed to tax the American Colonies to defray the expenses of the French and Indian War.

They protected by your arms? They have nobly taken up arms in your defense. They have exerted a valor, amid their constant and laborious industry, for the defense of a country whose frontier was drenched in blood, while its interior parts yielded all its little savings to your emolument. And, believe me, the very same spirit of freedom which actuated that people at first will accompany them still.

Heaven knows I do not at this time speak from motives of party heat. What I deliver are the genuine sentiments of my heart. . . . The American people, I believe, are as truly loyal as any subjects the king has. But they are a people jealous of their liberties, who, if those liberties should ever be violated, will vindicate them to the last drop of their blood.

SUPPLEMENTARY STUDIES

Name all the American colonies at the beginning of the reign of George III.

Why were the colonists loyal to England?

Why did the king and his ministers wish to tax them?

Give some account of Lord Chatham; of Edmund Burke; of William Pitt, the Younger; of Colonel Barré.

MUTTERINGS OF THE STORM¹

IN Virginia the excitement about the Stamp Tax was very great. Some people said that as the colonies belonged to England, and the king had authority over them, they ought not to refuse to obey the law, but should write a petition asking the king to change it, and that this petition should be as respectful as possible. Others said that such a petition would be of no use. Petitions had been tried again and again, and the best thing to do now was to tell the king plainly that no one on earth had the right to tax Virginians except the Virginians themselves through their House of Burgesses.

The burgesses soon met at Williamsburg. It was in the year 1765, and people everywhere were talking about the Stamp Act. The burgesses knew that something would have to be done. Most of them were rich men, with large farms, and lived in great style. They loved England, for the Virginia people had never forgotten that their fathers and grandfathers were Englishmen; and they were proud of their blood. They were quite willing that the king should continue to reign over them, provided they

¹ Adapted from John Esten Cooke's "Stories of the Old Dominion" (American Book Company).

were treated like the rest of his subjects who lived in England. If they were not so treated they meant to resist, but not to act in a passion. It would be far better, they thought, to petition the king to do them justice than to tell him in plain words that they would not obey him.

To this meeting of the burgesses came a young lawyer whose name was Patrick Henry. He was an awkward-looking countryman. His hair was unpowdered, and he wore a faded old coat, leather breeches, and yarn stockings.

As he rose in his place to address the assembly, the burgesses turned their heads and looked at him. They scarcely knew his name, and no doubt thought it presumptuous for this plainly dressed young man to take the lead and tell older persons what was best to be done. He looked around him. On all sides were powdered wigs and ruffled shirts and faces full of dignity. The burgesses were accustomed to being treated with the highest respect; and the contrast between them and the young man who was to address them was very striking.

But Patrick Henry was not abashed. He spoke in a quiet tone, and was listened to in deep silence. The Stamp Act, he said, was illegal, and oppressive to Virginia; and he therefore moved that the House of Burgesses should pass the resolutions he was about to read. He then read the resolutions, which he had written on a blank leaf torn out of an old law book.



Patrick Henry's Speech on the Stamp Act

The tone of the resolutions was respectful, but they were regarded by some of the burgesses as violent and imprudent. They asserted, in fact, that the king had no right to levy taxes in Virginia; and several of the members at once rose and denounced them as injudicious. There was much excitement, and finally Patrick Henry rose to defend them.

His whole appearance had changed, and the burgesses soon found that the poorly-clad countryman was a matchless speaker and superior to them all. His head was carried erect, and his stooping figure grew as straight as an arrow. His eyes flashed, and his voice rolled through the hall like thunder. He was fully aroused, and denounced the king in the bitterest terms. Why should English people be better treated than Virginians? he asked. What right had the Parliament to tyrannize over the colonies? And as for King George of Hanover, he had better look to his life.

"Caesar had his Brutus," he exclaimed, "Charles the First his Cromwell, and George the Third —"

"Treason!" was shouted from every part of the hall; but Henry did not shrink.

"And George the Third may profit by their example!" he added. "If this be treason, make the most of it."

He took his seat after uttering these brave words, in the midst of great excitement. It was plain that his speech had made a strong impression. Other

speeches were made — some in favor of, and some opposed to the resolutions; but at last it was seen that Henry's wonderful eloquence had swept away all opposition. The resolutions were put to a vote, and passed.

The House of Burgesses then adjourned in some confusion, but to the general satisfaction of the people. In Virginia, from that day forward, the cause of Liberty gained steadily in strength and won an enduring place in the hearts of the loyal colonists.

THE FIRST ACT OF RESISTANCE

UNDER the tyrannical rule of George III, the colonists became daily more and more dissatisfied. They felt not only that they were being taxed unjustly, but that, one by one, their liberties were being taken from them. Humbly, therefore, as loyal subjects, they united in petitioning the king to consider the injustice of his acts, and grant them the rights which belonged and always should belong to the free men of England.

But George III, like John Lackland and other tyrants, was selfish and short-sighted. He treated the petition with scorn; and his only reply thereto was to send soldiers across the sea to overawe his American subjects and force them to submit to his will.

The law imposing a tax on all tea imported into the colonies had been imperfectly enforced. It was now decided to oblige the people to buy the tea and pay the obnoxious duty, willingly or unwillingly. Several ships were therefore loaded with that article and sent from England to Boston and other American ports.

It was about the first of December, 1773, when one of the three tea ships that had been sent to Boston

arrived and was anchored in the harbor. When this became known, there was great excitement among the people. A town meeting was called in the Old South Church, and nearly everybody attended it. No such assembly had ever before been known in Boston. All the people were opposed to the landing of the tea. "It is a trick," they said. "It is one of the king's tricks by which he plans to make us pay taxes without our consent." And by the vote of every freeman at that great meeting, it was resolved that the tea should not be landed but must be carried back to England.



Old South Church

The merchants to whom the tea had been sent were much disturbed; for they were friendly to the king and expected to make some profit out of the business. They therefore begged for time in

which to consider the matter.

"Is it safe to trust these men who have already shown themselves to be the enemies of their country?" asked Samuel Adams, one of the leading patriots at the great meeting.

"Let the ship be guarded until the merchants have had time to make up their minds and to give an answer to our demands," said another.

"I will be one of the guards myself," said John Hancock.

And so it was decided that a party of twenty-five men should guard the tea ship during the night, and that on no account should the merchants delay their answer longer than till the next morning.

The next morning the answer of the merchants was brought: "It is entirely out of our power to send back the tea; but we are willing to store it until we shall receive further directions."

Further directions from whom? From the king's oppressive government?

The wrath of the people was now thoroughly aroused. They met again in the Old South Church and resolved that they would not disperse until the matter was settled.

In the afternoon the owners of the tea ship came forward and promised that the tea should be returned as it had come, without touching land. The owners of the other two ships, which were daily expected, made a like promise. And thus it was thought that the whole trouble would be ended.

When the other tea ships arrived, they were ordered to cast anchor by the side of the first, so that one guard might serve for all. Then another meeting was called, and the owner of the first tea ship was

persuaded to go to the proper officers and ask for clearance papers; for without these papers the ship could not return to England. The harbor officers had been appointed by the king, and they flatly re-

refused to make out the papers or to allow the ships to leave the harbor until the tea had been landed.

What should be done?

On the sixteenth of December, seven thousand men assembled at the town meeting, and every one voted that the tea should not be landed.



Boston Tea Party

"Having put our hands to the plow, we must not think of looking back," said one.

It had been dark for more than an hour. The church in which the leaders of the movement were sitting was dimly lighted. The owner of the first ship entered and announced that not only the harbor officers, but the governor also, had refused to allow his ship to sail until the tea was landed.

As soon as he had finished speaking, Samuel Adams rose and gave the word:—"This meeting can do nothing more to save the country."

At that instant a shout was heard near the door; a yell like an Indian war whoop answered it from the street; then some forty or fifty men, dressed in the garb of Mohawk Indians, marched past. Surrounded by a multitude of lookers-on, they quickly reached the wharf; they went on board the three tea ships, and in a few minutes emptied three hundred and forty chests of tea — all that could be found — into the waters of the harbor.

The people who looked on were so still that the noise of the breaking open of the tea chests was plainly heard. "All things were conducted with great order and decency," said John Adams, who was afterwards the second President of the United States.

After the work was done, the town became as still and calm as if it had been a day of holy rest. The men from the country went back to their homes that very night and carried the news to their neighbors. The people were now more determined than ever that they would not submit to the oppressive laws of King George the Third.

And from all parts of Old England, where the ancient Saxon devotion to justice and freedom remained, there arose a cry of rejoicing and of sympathy with the kinsmen and friends beyond the sea who had dared to defy the power of the tyrant. "These Americans," said some, "are fighting the same sort of battle that our ancestors waged against John Lackland and Charles Stuart. Let us pray for their success."

Everywhere, in town and country, on the highways, in the fields and homes, the same thought prevailed; and when the king would have raised a strong army to crush the colonists, he found himself powerless. Free Englishmen would not enlist in a war against human liberty. The best that George of Hanover could do was to hire a horde of mercenary Hessians in Germany to give aid to the professional army that was already under his orders. Many of his regular soldiers, however, were half-hearted, and disinclined to fight against their kinsmen; and many of his officers, sons of noble English families, resigned their commissions.

A wiser king would have seen the folly and hopelessness of his cause; but George III did not understand the Anglo-Saxon temper of his subjects, and his German mind was forever nursing his mother's oft-repeated injunction: "George, be a king, *be a king.*"

WHAT EDMUND BURKE SAID ABOUT TAXATION OF AMERICA¹

ENGLAND'S hold of the American colonies is in the close affection which grows from common names, from kindred blood, from similar privileges, and equal protection. These are ties which, though light as air, are as strong as links of iron.



Edmund Burke

Let the colonies always keep the idea of their civil rights associated with your government — they will cling and grapple to you, and no force under heaven will be of power to tear them from their allegiance. But let it be once understood that your government may be one thing and their privileges another; that these two things

may exist without any mutual relation, then the cement is gone, the cohesion is loosened, and everything hastens to decay and dissolution.

As long as you have the wisdom to keep the sovereign authority of this country as the sanctuary of

¹ From the speech on "Conciliation with America," in the House of Commons, March 22, 1775.

liberty, the sacred temple consecrated to our common faith, wherever the chosen race and sons of England worship freedom, they will turn their faces towards you. Slavery they can have anywhere. But, until you become lost to all feeling of your true interest and your natural dignity, freedom they can have from none but you. This is the commodity of price of which you have the monopoly. . . . It is the spirit of the English Constitution which, infused through the mighty mass, pervades, feeds, unites, invigorates, vivifies every part of the empire, even down to the minutest member. . . . It is the love of the people; it is their attachment to their government, from the sense of the deep stake they have in such a glorious institution, which gives you your army and your navy, and infuses into both that liberal obedience without which your army would be a base rabble, and your navy nothing but rotten timber. . . .

We ought to elevate our minds to the greatness of that trust to which the order of Providence has called us. By adverting to the dignity of this high calling, our ancestors have turned a savage wilderness into a glorious empire, and have made the most extensive, and the only honorable conquests, not by destroying, but by promoting the wealth, the number, the happiness of the human race. Let us get an American revenue as we have got an American empire. English privileges have made it all that it is; English privileges alone will make it all it can be.

THE CRY OF LIBERTY

It was natural now that many of the colonists should begin to waver in their loyalty to the mother country. They still loved England as the home of their ancestors; but with each act of oppression, allegiance to their own home land became more and more imperative. The Virginians became intensely loyal to Virginia; the Carolinians gave their first love to Carolina; the men of New England were faithful to Massachusetts and Rhode Island and Connecticut; patriotic men everywhere pledged their lives and their fortunes to the cause of liberty in the colony of which they were citizens. In many places



Patrick Henry

public meetings were called to consider what further should be done in order to secure justice and to preserve the rights of the people.

At a convention of the leading men of Virginia, held in the city of Richmond, Patrick Henry delivered a wonderful speech which for eloquence and patriotic ardor has never been surpassed:

"Sir," he said, "we have done everything that could be done to avert the storm which is now coming

on. We have petitioned, we have remonstrated, we have supplicated, we have prostrated ourselves before the throne.

“Our petitions have been slighted; our remonstrances have produced additional violence and insult; our supplications have been disregarded; and we have been spurned with contempt from the foot of the throne. In vain, after these things, may we indulge the fond hope of peace and reconciliation. There is no longer any room for hope.

“If we wish to be free, if we mean to preserve inviolate those inestimable privileges for which we have been so long contending, if we mean not basely to abandon the noble struggle in which we have been so long engaged, and which we have pledged ourselves never to abandon until the glorious object of our contest shall be obtained — we must fight! I repeat it, sir, we must fight! An appeal to arms and to the God of Hosts is all that is left us! . . .

“Why stand we here idle? What is it that gentlemen wish? What would they have? Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God! — I know not what course others may take; but as for me, give me liberty or give me death!”

A RIDE FOR LIBERTY

It was the eighteenth day of April, seventeen hundred and seventy-five.

There were many British soldiers in Boston. The king of England had sent them there to force the people to obey his unjust laws. They guarded the streets of the town, they insulted and overawed the people in their houses.

A cry had gone up from the colonists of Massachusetts: "Shall our liberties as free-born subjects of England be taken away from us? Shall we be deprived of the rights that are so dear to a liberty-loving people?"

The whole country — all New England, all the thirteen colonies — responded to the cry. Brave men, patriots all, left their homes and hurried towards Boston to give aid to the people who were thus insulted and oppressed.

"We are loyal English subjects," they said, "and as such we do not wish to fight against the king. But we must defend ourselves and our neighbors from the tyranny of his soldiers. We are free men, and our dearest possession is liberty."

Some of these patriots gathered at Charlestown, just across the river from Boston; and from that

place they kept watch upon the movements of the soldiers. They themselves were ill prepared to fight; they had no arms, no uniforms, no appointed leader; but their hearts were filled with patriotic ardor and with devotion to the cause of liberty.

At Concord, eighteen miles away, these men had stored some powder. When this became known to the British general in Boston, he decided to send out a company of soldiers to seize or destroy it.

Among the watchers at Charlestown was a brave young man whose name was Paul Revere. A friend of his, who lived in Boston, came to him one day with grave and anxious face, and said:

"Listen! I have important news. The British have heard about the gunpowder that our people have stored at Concord, and it is their intention to send some soldiers there to destroy it. Indeed, I have learned that a company of redcoats is in readiness to march over there this very night."

"Very well," answered Paul Revere. "They shall find that we are not all asleep. You must return to the city and keep watch. As soon as the soldiers are ready to start you must let me know. Hang a lantern in the tower of the Old North Church. If they are coming straight across the river, hang two. I will be here watching. The moment I see the lights in the tower, I will mount my horse and ride to spread the alarm to every Middlesex village and farm."

And so it was done.

Hour after hour that night, Paul Revere waited and watched by the side of the river. He walked up and down the bank, leading his horse behind him and keeping his eyes always turned towards Boston.

“But mostly he watched with eager search ¹
The belfry tower of the Old North Church,
As it rose above the graves on the hill,
Lonely and spectral and somber and still.
And lo! as he looks, on the belfry’s height
A glimmer, and then a gleam of light!
He springs to the saddle, the bridle he turns,
But lingers and gazes, till full on his sight
A second lamp in the belfry burns!

“A hurry of hoofs in the village street,
A shape in the moonlight, a bulk in the dark,
And beneath, from the pebbles, in passing, a spark
Struck out by a steed flying fearless and fleet.
That was all! And yet, through the gloom and the
light,
The fate of a nation was riding that night;
And the spark struck out by that steed, in his flight,
Kindled the land into flame with its heat.

“He has left the village and mounted the steep,
And beneath him, tranquil and broad and deep,

¹ From “Paul Revere’s Ride” by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. By permission of, and by special arrangement with, Houghton Mifflin Company, authorized publishers.



Paul Revere's Ride

(121)

Is the Mystic, meeting the ocean tides;
And under the alders that skirt its edge,
Now soft on the sand, now loud on the ledge,
Is heard the tramp of his steed as he rides.

"It was twelve by the village clock
When he crossed the bridge into Medford town.
He heard the crowing of the cock,
And the barking of the farmer's dog,
And felt the damp of the river fog
That rises after the sun goes down.

"It was one by the village clock,
When he galloped into Lexington.
He saw the gilded weathercock
Swim in the moonlight as he passed,
And the meetinghouse windows, blank and bare,
Gaze at him with a spectral glare,
As if they already stood aghast
At the bloody work they would look upon.

"It was two by the village clock
When he came to the bridge in Concord town.
He heard the bleating of the flock,
And the twitter of birds among the trees,
And felt the breath of the morning breeze
Blowing over the meadows brown;
And one was safe and asleep in his bed
Who that day would be lying dead,
Pierced by a British musket ball.

"You know the rest. In the books you have read
How the British Regulars fired and fled,
How the farmers gave them ball for ball,
From behind each fence and farmyard wall,
Chasing the redcoats down the lane,
Then crossing the fields to emerge again
Under the trees at the turn of the road,
And only pausing to fire and load.

"So through the night rode Paul Revere;
And so through the night went his cry of alarm
To every Middlesex village and farm —
A cry of defiance and not of fear,
A voice in the darkness, a knock at the door,
And a word that shall echo forevermore!
For, borne on the night wind of the Past,
Through all our history, to the last,
In the hour of darkness and peril and need,
The people will waken and listen to hear
The hurrying hoof beats of the steed,
And the midnight message of Paul Revere."

— HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW

SUPPLEMENTARY STUDIES

Read in some standard history of the United States a full account of the causes which led to the American Revolution.

Why did so many of the people in England sympathize with the American colonists?

Being Englishmen why did they submit to be ruled by a German king?

CHOOSING A GENERAL

IN the city of Philadelphia, a few weeks after the conflict at Lexington and Concord, a number of men with grave, determined faces, were sitting in the hall of the State House. They were the representatives of the thirteen colonies, and they had come together to discuss the great questions which were affecting the peace and the prosperity of the people. In history, this assembly is known as the Second Continental Congress of America.

That the world should know the causes of their disagreement with the king and his ministers, the delegates to the Congress decided to issue a manifesto, or public explanation of their action.

"The time has come," they said, "when we must either submit to the rule of tyranny or oppose it with all the force that we can command. We have counted the cost, and we find that there is nothing so dreadful as voluntary slavery. We have therefore decided to resist."

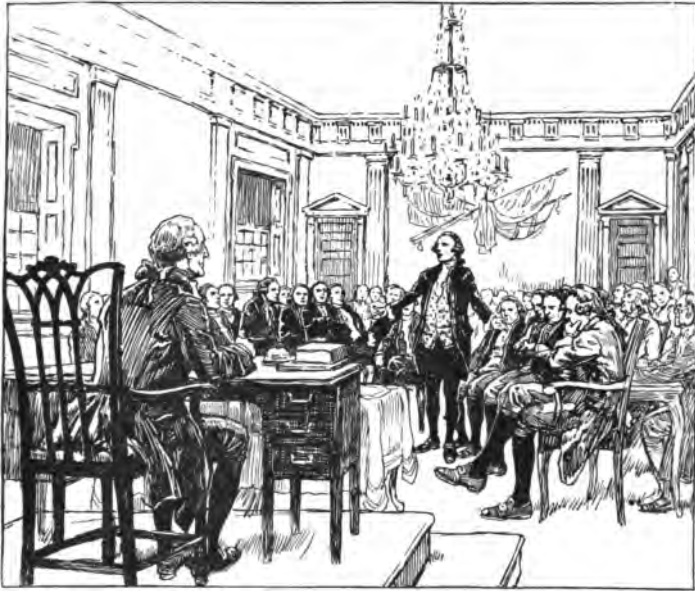
And then, after solemn deliberation, they adopted the following resolution:

"Resolved, That a General be appointed to command all the Continental forces raised or to be raised for the defense of American liberty.

“That five hundred dollars per month be allowed for the pay and expenses of the General.”

Who should that General be?

In all the thirteen colonies, there was but one



Second Continental Congress

man qualified to perform the duties of such an officer, and all the delegates in the Continental Congress knew that this was true.

“I nominate George Washington of Virginia,” said a delegate from Maryland—and of this the other members heartily and with one voice approved.

On the following day Washington was officially notified that he had been unanimously chosen to be commander in chief of all the forces of the American colonies.

In that dignified manner which was his, Washington arose and thanked the Congress for the great honor which it had conferred upon him. The duties that would be required of him were many and great, and he was not at all sure that he would be able to perform them wisely; yet he declared himself ready to give all his time, all his energies, his life if need be, to the defense of his country.

"As to the pay," he said, "I beg leave to say that no amount of money could tempt me to undertake this difficult work. I have no wish to make any profit from it. But I will keep an exact account of my expenses, and if these are paid I shall want nothing more."

Thus, the united American colonies entered upon a long and uncertain war in defense of their liberties. They had as yet no efficient army; they had no money; but their delegates in the Continental Congress felt an unwavering faith in the righteousness of their cause.

WHAT WILLIAM PITT SAID ABOUT THE OPPRESSION OF THE COLONISTS

THE people whom we at first despised as rebels, but whom we now acknowledge as enemies, are abetted against us, supplied with every military store, their interests consulted, and their ambassadors entertained by our inveterate enemy. The desperate state of our army abroad is in part known. No man more highly esteems and honors the English troops than I do. I know their virtues and their valor; I know they can achieve anything but impossibilities; and I know that the conquest of English America *is an impossibility*.



William Pitt

You cannot, my lords, *you cannot conquer America*. What is your present situation there? We do not know the *worst*; but we know that in three campaigns we have done nothing, and suffered much. You may swell every expense, accumulate every assistance, and extend your traffic to the shambles of every German despot; your attempts will be forever vain and impotent — doubly so, indeed, from this mer-

cenary aid on which you rely. For it irritates, to an incurable resentment, the minds of your adversaries, to overrun them with the mercenary sons of rapine and plunder, devoting them and their possessions to the rapacity of hireling cruelty.

If I were an American, as I am an Englishman, while a foreign troop was landed in my country, I never would lay down my arms — *never, never, never!*¹

.

This gentleman tells us America is obstinate, America is in open rebellion. Sir, I rejoice that America has resisted! If ever this nation should have a tyrant for a king, three millions of people so dead to all the feelings of liberty as voluntarily to become slaves would be fit instruments to make slaves of the rest.²

¹ Extract from a speech in the English House of Lords, when it was proposed by George III and his ministers to employ mercenary soldiers from Hesse-Cassel and other German states to subdue the American Colonies.

² Extract from a speech made in the House of Commons directly after the repeal of the Stamp Act.

THE GREAT DECLARATION

ANOTHER year has passed. The king's soldiers are still quartered in Boston. The king's oppressive laws are still enforced to deprive the colonists of their just rights. From New Hampshire to Georgia the thirteen colonies are in a ferment of excitement, not knowing what to do or what to expect.

In Philadelphia the Continental Congress is sitting in the hall of the State House. The streets are filled with people; everybody seems anxious; everybody wants to know what the Congress is doing.

Here and there on the streets, men are talking about the war which has now been going on for more than a year. Many persons are crowding around the State House, trying to hear what is being said inside.

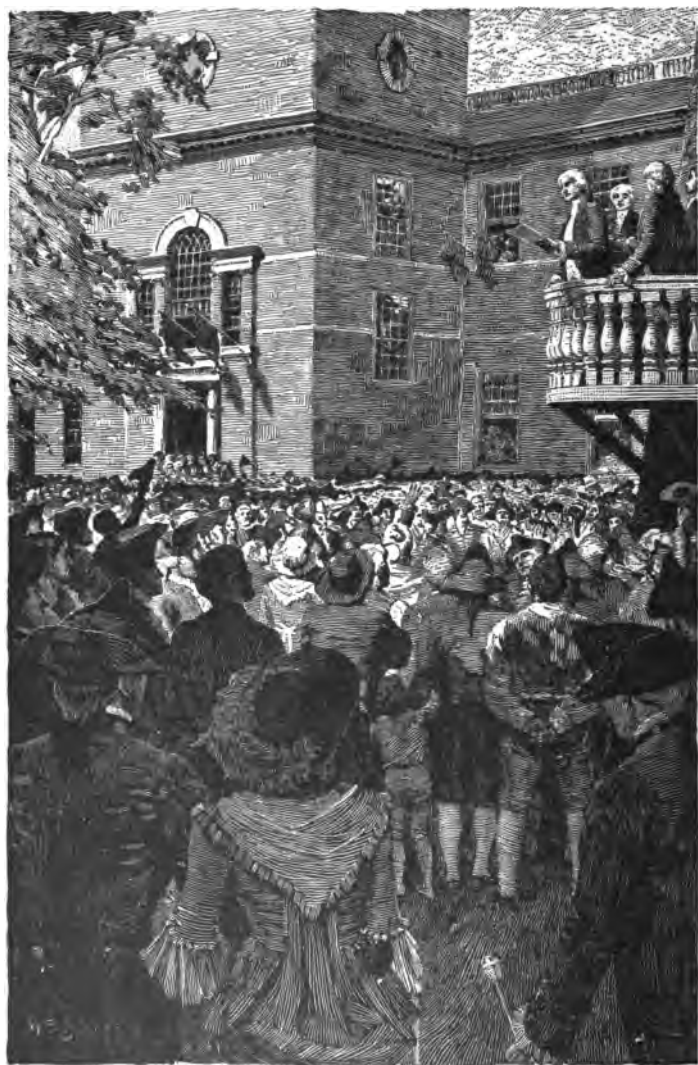
"Who is speaking now?" asks one on the outskirts of the crowd.

"John Adams of Massachusetts," is the answer. "He is in favor of declaring independence."

In a little while the question is asked again, "Who is speaking now?"

"Dr. Franklin — our own Benjamin Franklin."

"That's good! Let them follow his advice, for he knows what is best."



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Reading the Declaration of Independence

And then everybody is very still — for all want to know what the great Dr. Franklin, the foremost thinker in America, will have to say about the important subject that is being discussed.

His speech is not long, but every word that he utters is rich with meaning. Soon he has ended, and there is a stir and a great shout of approval as he takes his seat.

There is silence for a little while, and then a clear, ringing voice is heard that charms every listener.

“Who is it? Who is it?” whispers one to another.

“Thomas Jefferson of Virginia,” is the answer.

“It was he and Dr. Franklin that wrote it.”

“Wrote what?”

“Why, the Declaration of Independence, of course — the thing they are talking about now.”

A little later, there is another pause. Then one who is near the door passes the word around: “They are reading it and discussing each passage in its turn. They will be ready to sign it soon.”

“Sign it? I wonder if they will dare do that.”

“Dare? These men will dare do anything for the good of their country.”

“But only think! They will be hanged as traitors.”

“Patriots are willing to face death for the good of their country.”

The truth is that for many days the wise and brave men who were then sitting in the hall had been dis-

cussing the various acts of the king of England. One after another, these men told of the numerous laws and enactments by which the king and his counselors had sought to deprive the American colonists of the rights that were justly theirs as Englishmen inheriting freedom from their Saxon forefathers.

"He has cut off our trade with all parts of the world," said one.

"He has made us pay taxes to enrich himself, and he doesn't allow us to say a word about making the country's laws," said another.

"He has sent his soldiers among us to burn our towns and kill our people," said a third.

"He has hired the Indians and the Hessian Germans to make war upon us," said a fourth.

"He is a tyrant and unfit to be the ruler of a free people," they all agreed.

Then Richard Henry Lee of Virginia arose and offered a resolution: "*Resolved, That these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states.*"

The resolution was adopted, and Jefferson, Adams, and Franklin were appointed to write down all these statements in the form of a Declaration of Independence.

And it was to hear the reading of this declaration that the people on this hot July morning had gathered around the State House.

**EXTRACTS FROM THE DECLARATION OF
INDEPENDENCE**

WE hold these truths to be self-evident:

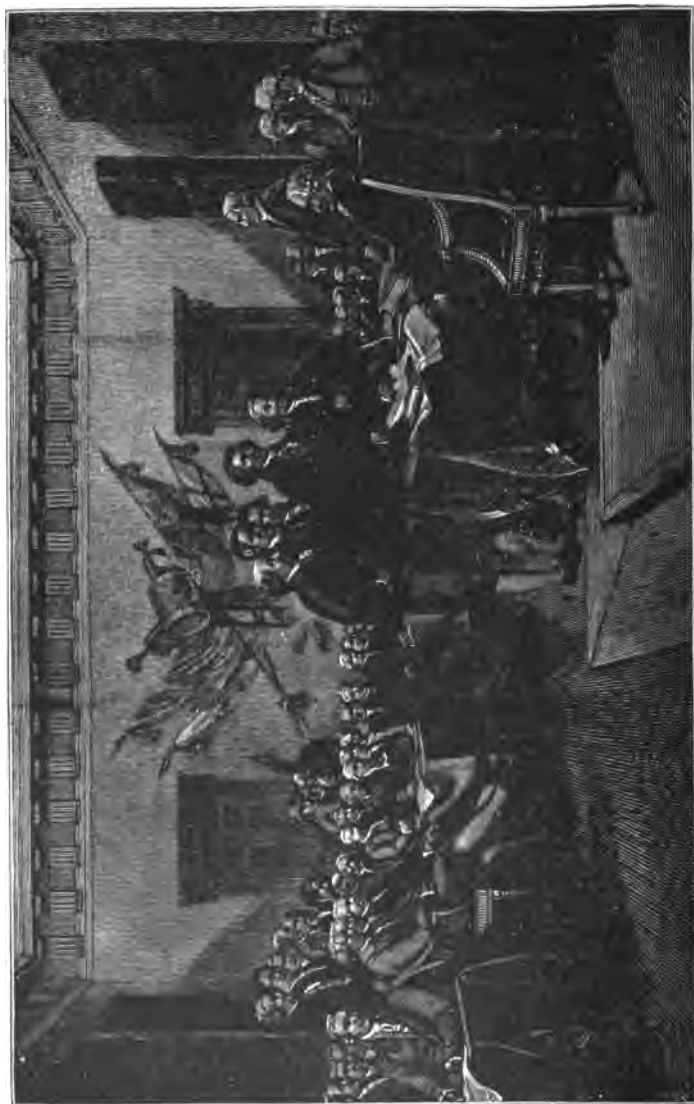
That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.

The history of the present king of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these States. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good. . . .

He has obstructed the administration of justice



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Signing the Declaration of Independence

by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers. . . .

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people, and eat out their substance. .

He has kept among us in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our legislature. . . .

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burned our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is, at this time, transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny, already begun. . . .

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions, we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms: our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury.

A prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in attention to our British brethren. . . . We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement

here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them, by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations. . . . They, too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and consanguinity. . . .

We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America, in general Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare:

That these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be totally dissolved; and that, as free and independent states, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do.

And for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.



The Liberty Bell in the Old State House, Philadelphia

LIBERTY BELL

There was tumult in the city,
In the quaint old Quaker town,
And the streets were rife with people,
Pacing restless up and down,
People gathering at corners,
Where they whispered, each to each,
And the sweat stood on their temples,
With the earnestness of speech.

As the bleak Atlantic currents
Lash the wild Newfoundland shore,
So they beat against the State House,
So they surged against the door;

And the mingling of their voices
Made a harmony profound,
Till the quiet street of Chestnut
Was all turbulent with sound.

"Will they do it?" — "Dare they do it?" —
"Who is speaking?" — "What's the news?" —
"What of Adams?" — "What of Sherman?" —
"Oh, God grant they won't refuse!" —

.

Aloft in that high steeple
Sat the bellman, old and gray;
He was weary of the tyrant
And his iron-sceptered sway;
So he sat with one hand ready
On the clapper of the bell,
When his eye should catch the signal,
Very happy news to tell.

See! see! the dense crowd quivers
Through all its lengthy line,
As the boy beside the portal
Looks forth to give the sign.
With his small hands upward lifted,
Breezes dallying with his hair,
Hark! with deep, clear intonation,
Breaks his young voice on the air.

Hushed the people's swelling murmur,
List the boy's strong, joyous cry —
"Ring!" he shouts aloud, "*Ring, Grandpa!*
Ring! Oh, ring for Liberty!"
And, straightway, at the signal,
The old bellman lifts his hand,
And sends the good news, making
Iron music through the land.

How they shouted! What rejoicing!
How the old bell shook the air,
Till the clang of Freedom ruffled
The calm, gliding Delaware!
How the bonfires and the torches
Illumed the night's repose!
And from the flames, like Phoenix,
Fair Liberty arose!

That old bell now is silent,
And hushed its iron tongue,
But the spirit it awakened
Still lives — forever young.
And, while we greet the sunlight,
On the fourth of each July,
We'll ne'er forget the bellman
Who, 'twixt the earth and sky,
Rung out OUR INDEPENDENCE;
Which, please God, *shall never die!*

HOW THE NEWS WAS CARRIED¹

DARKNESS closed upon the country and upon the town, but it was no night for sleep. Heralds on swift relays of horses transmitted the war message from hand to hand, till village repeated it to village; the sea to the backwoods; the plains to the highlands; and it was never suffered to droop till it had been borne north and south, and east and west, throughout the land.

It spread over the bays that received the Saco and the Penobscot. Its loud reveille broke the rest of the trappers of New Hampshire, and ringing like bugle notes from peak to peak, overleapt the Green Mountains, swept onward to Montreal, and descended the ocean river, till the responses were echoed from the cliffs of Quebec. The hills along the Hudson told to one another the tale.

As the summons hurried to the south, it was one day at New York; in one more at Philadelphia; the next, it lighted a watchfire at Baltimore; thence it waked an answer at Annapolis. Crossing the Potomac near Mount Vernon, it was sent forward without a halt to Williamsburg. It traversed the Dismal Swamp to Nansemond, along the route of the first

¹ From Bancroft's "History of the United States of America."

emigrants to North Carolina. It moved onwards and still onwards, through boundless groves of evergreen, to Newbern and to Wilmington.

"For God's sake, forward it by night and by day," wrote Cornelius Harnett by the express which sped for Brunswick. Patriots of South Carolina caught up its tones at the border and despatched it to Charleston, and through pines and palmettos and moss-clad live oaks, still farther to the South, till it resounded among the New England settlements beyond the Savannah.

The Blue Ridge took up the voice, and made it heard from one end to the other of the valley of Virginia. The Alleghanies, as they listened, opened their barriers, that the "loud call" might pass through to the hardy riflemen on the Holston, Watauga, and the French Broad. Ever renewing its strength, powerful enough even to create a commonwealth, it breathed its inspiring word to the first settlers of Kentucky.

With one impulse, the colonies sprang to arms; with one spirit they pledged themselves to each other "to be ready for the extreme event."

With one heart the continent cried, "LIBERTY OR DEATH."

—GEORGE BANCROFT

THE RISING IN VIRGINIA

OUT of the North the wild news came,
Far flashing on its wings of flame,
Swift as the boreal light which flies
At midnight through the startled skies.

And there was tumult in the air,
The fife's shrill note, the drum's loud beat,
And through the wide land everywhere
The answering tread of hurrying feet;
While the first oath of Freedom's gun,
Came on the blast from Lexington;
And Concord, roused, no longer tame,
Forgot her old baptismal name,
Made bare her patriot arm of power,
And swelled the discord of the hour.

Within its shade of elm and oak
The church of Berkeley Manor stood;
There Sunday found the rural folk,
And some esteemed of gentle blood.
In vain their feet with loitering tread
Passed 'mid the graves where rank is naught;
All could not read the lesson taught
In that republic of the dead.

How sweet the hour of Sabbath talk,
The vale with peace and sunshine full
Where all the happy people walk,
Decked in their homespun flax and wool!
Where youth's gay hats with blossoms bloom;
And every maid, with simple art,
Wears on her breast, like her own heart,
A bud whose depths are all perfume;
While every garment's gentle stir
Is breathing rose and lavender.

The pastor came; his snowy locks
Hallowed his brow of thought and care;
And calmly, as shepherds lead their flocks,
He led into the house of prayer.
The pastor rose; the prayer was strong;
The psalm was warrior David's song;
The text, a few short words of might —
"The Lord of hosts shall arm the right!"

He spoke of wrongs too long endured,
Of sacred rights to be secured;
Then from his patriot tongue of flame
The startling words for Freedom came.
The stirring sentences he spake
Compelled the heart to glow or quake,
And, rising on his theme's broad wing,
And grasping in his nervous hand
The imaginary battle-brand,

In face of death he dared to fling
Defiance to a tyrant king.

Even as he spoke, his frame, renewed,
In eloquence of attitude,
Rose, as it seemed, a shoulder higher;
Then swept his kindling glance of fire



The Rising in Virginia

From startled pew to breathless choir;
When suddenly his mantle wide
His hands impatient flung aside,
And, lo! he met their wondering eyes
Complete in all a warrior's guise.

A moment there was awful pause —
When Berkeley cried, "Cease, traitor! cease!
God's temple is the house of peace!"

The other shouted, "Nay, not so,
When God is with our righteous cause;
His holiest places then are ours
His temples are our forts and towers
That frown upon the tyrant foe;
In this, the dawn of Freedom's day,
There is a time to fight and pray!"

And now before the open door —
The warrior-priest had ordered so —
The enlisting trumpet's sudden roar
Rang through the chapel, o'er and o'er,
Its long reverberating blow;
And there the startling drum and fife
Fired the living with fiercer life;
While overhead, with wild increase,
Forgetting its ancient toll of peace,
The great bell swung as ne'er before;
It seemed as it would never cease;
And every word its ardor flung
From off its jubilant iron tongue
Was "War! War! War!"

"Who dares" — this was the patriot's cry,
As striding from the desk he came —
"Come cut with me, in Freedom's name,
For her to live, for her to die?"
A hundred hands flung up reply,
A hundred voices answered "I!"

— T. B. READ

THE FLAG OF LIBERTY

It is the national ensign, pure and simple, dearer to all our hearts at this moment, as we lift it to the gale and see no other sign of hope upon the storm-cloud which rolls and rattles above it, save that which is reflected from its own radiant hues, dearer, a thousandfold dearer to us all, than it ever was before. It will speak for itself far more eloquently than I can speak for it.

Behold it! Listen to it! Every star has a tongue; every stripe is articulate. There is no language or speech where their voices are not heard. There is magic in the web of it. It has an answer for every question of duty. It has a solution for every doubt and every perplexity. It has a word of good cheer for every hour of gloom or of despondency.

Behold it! Listen to it! It speaks of earlier and of later struggles. It speaks of victories and sometimes of reverses on the sea and on the land. It speaks of patriots and heroes among the living and among the dead. . . . But, before all and above all other associations and memories — whether of glorious men, or glorious deeds, or glorious places — its voice is ever of union and liberty, of the Constitution and the laws.

Behold it! Listen to it! Let it tell the story of its birth to the gallant men who march beneath its folds by day, or repose beneath its sentinel stars by night.

Let it recall to them the strange, eventful history of its rise and progress; let it rehearse to them the wonderful tale of its trials and its triumphs, in peace as well as in war; and whatever else may happen to it, or to them, it will never be prostituted to any unworthy and unchristian purpose of revenge, depredation, or rapine.

And may a merciful God cover the head of each one of its brave defenders in the hour of battle.

— ROBERT C. WINTHROP

WHEN Freedom, from her mountain height,
Unfurled her standard to the air,
She tore the azure robe of night,
And set the stars of glory there.

.
Flag of the free heart's hope and home,
By angel hands to valor given!
Thy stars have lit the welkin dome,
And all thy hues were born in heaven.
Forever float that standard sheet,
Where breathes the foe but falls before us,
With Freedom's soil beneath our feet,
And Freedom's banner streaming o'er us!

— JOSEPH RODMAN DRAKE

A HELPER FROM ABROAD¹

I

THE château de Chavaniac is in the province of Auvergne, in the south of France. It is a lofty castle, with towers and narrow windows from which cannon once frowned down upon besieging foes. There was once a deep moat around it, with a bridge which was drawn up in time of war, so that no man could pass in at the gate without permission of the guard.

Low hills, crowned with vineyards, stand near the castle, and beyond the hills stretch mountains whose peaks seem to pierce the sky. A hundred and fifty years ago there was not in all France a more charming spot than Chavaniac; and among all the nobles of the king's court there was no braver man than its master, the Marquis de Lafayette.

One day the drawbridge was let down over the moat, and the gallant marquis rode away to the war in Germany. After taking part in several engagements, he was shot through the heart in a skirmish at Minden. His comrades buried him on the field. The drums were muffled, the band played a funeral dirge, and three rounds of musketry announced that the hero's body had been lowered into the grave.

¹ Adapted from "The Story of Lafayette" by Alma Holman Burton. (American Book Company.)

In the midst of the mourning for the dead marquis, on September 6, 1757, his only son was born.

The little orphan, according to the custom in France, received a long name at his christening, but his loving mother said that his everyday name should be Gilbert de Lafayette.



Château de Chavaniac

When Gilbert was old enough, his mother walked with him instead of leaving him to the care of servants. Sometimes they climbed a high hill to see the sun set over the towers of the château. Then she told him how the de Lafayettes, long before Columbus discovered America, had helped to banish the English kings from France, and how his own father had died for the glory of his country.

Sometimes as they walked through the halls of the castle, she showed Gilbert the coats of mail which

his ancestors had worn; and she told him about the swords and banners and other trophies which the de Lafayettes had won in battle.

"I would not have you less brave than they, my son," she would say.

The boy longed for the time to come when he might show his mother how very brave he was. He grew tall and strong, and carried himself like a prince. He wanted to be worthy of his great ancestors.

II

When Gilbert de Lafayette was just nineteen years old, he became a captain of an artillery company in the service of the king of France.

But he said to himself, "Kings make war for conquest and for their own selfish gain. I wish that when I am called to battle it may be for a more worthy object."

That same year an English nobleman, the royal Duke of Gloucester, was sojourning for a time in France. He had displeased his brother, King George III, and for that reason had been banished from England.

One day Lafayette attended a dinner party given in honor of the duke. While the guests were seated at the table and enjoying the feast, it was announced that a messenger was at the door with dispatches from England.

"Ah, news from home!" exclaimed the duke.

"Show the man in," ordered the officer in command.

A courier, with dust on his garments, entered the room, and, bowing low, delivered a bundle of letters.

"I beg your Highness to read without ceremony," said the commander.

The duke glanced over the papers for some time in silence. He looked grave. At last he said, "My courier has brought dispatches about our colonies in America."

"Ah," said one, "are the colonies acting badly?"

"Yes, they demand to vote their own taxes."

"How absurd! Why, the people in France do not vote their own taxes. They never dream of doing it."

"Well, it is somewhat different in England," said the duke. "Some five hundred years ago, one of our English kings — a weak fellow named John — gave a charter to the people, which granted them the right to impose their own taxes. They still claim that right, and insist that the king is bound to observe that old charter. They elect representatives to a Parliament, and so make their own laws; and the king is unable to tax them a penny without their consent."

"Why doesn't the king put all the rascals in prison and then have his own way?" queried a nobleman.

"He wouldn't dare," answered the duke. "Why, it is not long since a certain king lost his head for trying to do that very thing."

"Your English people seem to have a great deal of freedom," remarked Lafayette. "If they make their own laws and determine their own rates of taxation, what more can they wish? And don't the English colonists in America have the same rights and privileges?"

"By no means," said the duke. "My brother, George of Hanover, is determined to be king in America, although he is only half king in England. He insists upon taxing the colonists without their consent, which is in direct violation of the Great Charter; and that is at the bottom of all the trouble he is having. The Americans claim that, as loyal subjects, they should be allowed to enjoy all the rights of free-born Englishmen and should be permitted either to send representatives to our Parliament, or to have a Parliament of their own. Neither privilege has been granted. All sorts of taxes are imposed on them, and when they refuse to pay, my brother, the king, sends soldiers to force them to do so. These dispatches inform me that the rebel colonists have driven the king's soldiers out of a town called Boston, and that delegates from the thirteen colonies have met at another town called Philadelphia and adopted a declaration of independence." After a pause, the duke added, "I am not so sure, gentlemen, that the Americans are not in the right. They are fighting as free-born Englishmen. The sympathies of our English people are with them."

"The Americans *are* in the right," said Lafayette to himself; and, while the other officers were making merry, he was silent. As soon as he could do so, he excused himself from the table. He hastened to his room and locked the door.

"This is, indeed, the hour I have sought," he murmured.

He sat down to think. Presently he arose and paced the floor until it was almost morning. When, at last, he threw himself on the bed to sleep, he had resolved to leave the pleasures of rank and fortune, that he might use his sword in the defense of liberty.



Lafayette

About this time the American Congress sent Silas Deane to France to see if he could not obtain from that country some help for the colonies in their struggle for liberty. Lafayette said to him, "I myself will give you what aid I can. I will take service under your General Washington."

"But we have no money to pay you," said Deane.

"I will serve without money," answered Lafayette.

"We have no ship to carry you or your men," again objected Deane.

"I will buy a ship," was the ready answer.

Still Silas Deane hesitated to accept the services of such a boyish-looking officer. In the end, however, a contract was signed in which Lafayette

pledged himself to serve in the army of the United States whenever he should be called upon.

Not long afterward, when Benjamin Franklin arrived in Paris as the envoy of the American government, Lafayette was the first to greet him. He was charmed with the famous philosopher, whose simple manners and plain dress so well befitted the herald of a republic.

"Now, indeed, is our time of need," said Franklin.

Lafayette understood. He waited not a day, but at once bought a ship and ordered it to be equipped.

The voyage across the ocean was a long and stormy one. For many weeks, the ship was tossed upon the waters. Lafayette spent most of the time trying to learn to speak English.

His good ship *Victory* cast anchor near Charleston, South Carolina, and the party landed about midnight.

They found shelter at a farmhouse, and, on the following day, proceeded to Charleston. There Lafayette purchased carriages and horses to ride nine hundred miles to Philadelphia, where the Continental Congress was in session. When the carriages broke down because of the bad roads, the officers mounted the horses and continued their journey.

"I am more determined than ever," he said, "to help these people preserve the liberties to which they are entitled."

When Lafayette first met Washington, he knew



Meeting of Washington and Lafayette

him at once by his noble face. Washington invited the young Frenchman to cross the Delaware to see his army. When Lafayette arrived at the camp in New Jersey, the troops were on the drill ground. Many of them were ragged and barefooted. Even the officers lacked suitable uniforms, and the guns were of all shapes and sizes.

"We should be embarrassed at thus showing ourselves to a French officer," said Washington.

"Ah!" replied Lafayette, with tears in his eyes; "men who fight for liberty against such odds will be sure to win."

NOTE.—During the Great War of 1914-1919, the Château de Chavaniac was a place of great patriotic interest. It was taken under the care of American officers and made a place of protection for French children rendered homeless by the war. Later, it was purchased by wealthy Americans for the purpose of establishing there a museum to commemorate the achievements of our soldiers and also a school for the education of worthy French war orphans. Thus America repays to France her debt of gratitude for the help so freely rendered by the noble Marquis de Lafayette.

REFUSING A CROWN

For a thousand years, no king has shown such greatness, or given us so high a type of manly virtue. — THEODORE PARKER.

WE think and speak of George Washington as the father of his country.

We say with truth that he was "the first in war, the first in peace, and the first in the hearts of his countrymen."

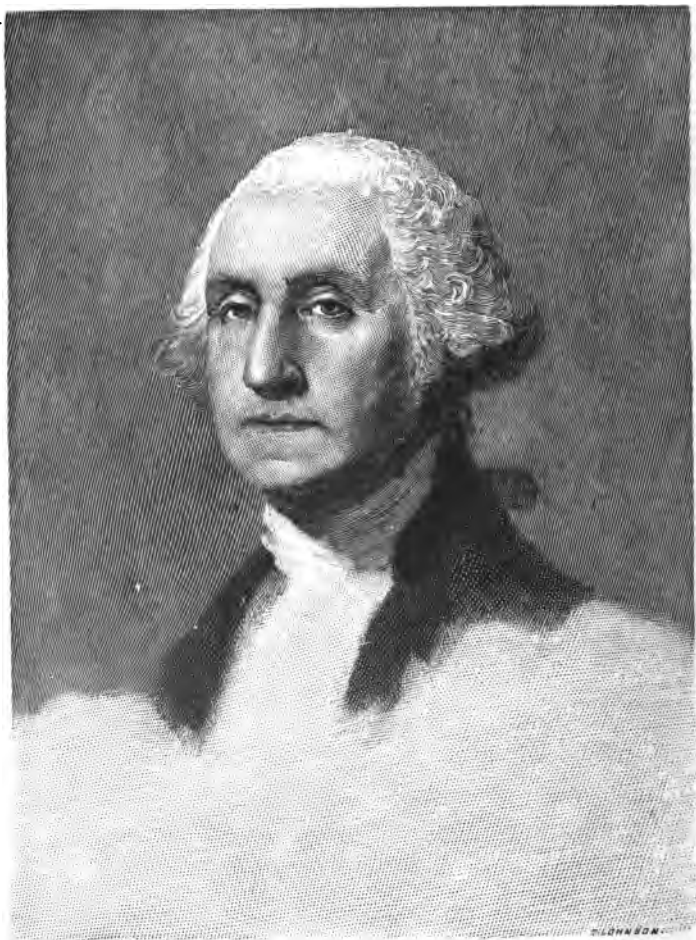
We picture him as a person always calm, wise, just, and single-minded, and free from the passions and follies that are so common among men.

Did he ever laugh? Did he ever weep?

It is said that once, and only once, while in command of the American army, did his feelings so overpower him that tears were seen to well from his eyes. This is the story:—

The war was ended.

Washington's army was encamped in New York, waiting to be disbanded. Many thoughtful people were asking one another, "What next?" What would be the future of the states that had just won their independence from the mother country? Would they be able to maintain their freedom and win an honorable place among the powers of the earth? These states were at that time merely thirteen little nations,



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George Washington

joined together for defense, but otherwise having but few interests in common. True, the long war was ended and they were free, but as yet no great nation had been created.

It was the opinion of the wisest men of the time that the states should be united permanently under one head, so as to form a single strong government. But how could that be done? What form of government should be adopted?

At that time, all the great countries in the world were ruled by kings. People were so accustomed to monarchs and monarchies that they thought no other form of government was possible. And so, certain men of influence in Washington's army began to ask, "Why not join all these little states into a single kingdom—the new kingdom of America, if you please—and place an American king on the throne?"

But some objected. "We have been fighting for eight long years to rid ourselves of a king," they said. "We are now a free people. Let us hold fast to our hard-won liberties."

And then others spoke. "A country without a ruler is like a ship without a rudder—helpless in every storm. It is true that we have been fighting against King George III and his unjust laws, and we have conquered; but the country can be held together only by the strong arm of a monarch. We must have a king—a king who will govern, but not oppress.

We do not need to go to England for him — he is here, in our midst. For there is no man better fitted to be our supreme ruler than he who has led us through these seven years of warfare, our own commander in chief, General George Washington."

None of the great statesmen and patriots of our country — such as Adams, Jefferson, or Hamilton — was present at this discussion. History has not recorded the names of the men who favored the idea of an American kingdom in opposition to that of a free republic. We may be sure, however, that they were men who regarded their own interests as superior to the peace and prosperity of their country.

"Let us propose the matter to General Washington himself," they finally suggested. "He will see the wisdom of our proposal and will no doubt accept the crown; and here, before it is disbanded, is the victorious American army which, we pledge ourselves, will support and defend him against all who refuse their allegiance."

Thus, after many secret consultations, these plotters perfected a plan for uniting the states into a monarchy with Washington upon the throne and themselves as his courtiers. Then, one morning they went together to Washington's headquarters to offer him the crown of empire and the promise of their support.

The general greeted them kindly as friends, having no idea of the errand which had brought them. He

was happy. The war was over. Independence was won. Peace and prosperity were assured to the American people.

But how his countenance changed when these men made known their business! They had no need to say much. When they proposed the kingship and tried to put the scepter in his hand, his face at once betrayed the indignation and anger of his heart. With a quick gesture he refused to listen, tears rushed into his eyes, and he turned away, leaving the plotters to wonder at their own folly.

"In this action," says a noted historian, "Washington not only revealed his moral greatness, but made it impossible that a monarchy could ever be established in the United States."

For truth and wisdom foremost of the brave;

Him glory's idle glances dazzled not;

'Twas his ambition, generous and great,

A life to life's great end to consecrate.

—*Percy Bysshe Shelley.*

Read the story of Washington in "Four Great Americans" (American Book Company); or if this is not available, read some larger biography.

LESSONS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION¹

WHEN the outpouring of Europe into the rest of the world began, the British peoples alone had the habit and instinct of self-government in their very blood and bones. Wherever Englishmen went they carried self-government with them. *Every* colony of English settlers was endowed with self-governing institutions. *No* colony ever planted by any other nation ever thought of claiming such rights.

In the eighteenth century, and even in the nineteenth century, Britain herself and the young nations that she had planted were *almost the only free states existing in the world*. It was because they were free that they thrived so greatly. They expanded on their own account, they threw out fresh settlements into the empty lands wherein they were planted, sometimes against the wishes of the mother country.

Now, one of the results of the possession of self-governing rights was that the English settlers were far more prompt to resent and resist an injury than were the settlers in the colonies of other countries.

It was this independent spirit which led to the revolt of the American colonies in 1775, and the founding of the United States as an independent nation. In that great controversy a very important

¹ Adapted in part from "The Character of the British Empire," by Ramsay Muir.

question was raised, which was new to human history. It was the question whether union could be combined with freedom — whether it was possible to create a sort of brotherhood of free communities, in which each should be master of its own destinies, and yet all combine for common interests.

Naturally, England thought most of the need of unity; and she committed many foolish blunders in trying to enforce her view. The colonists, just as naturally, thought first of their own self-governing rights, and very justly demanded that they should be increased rather than restricted. The result was the unhappy war, which broke up the only family of free peoples that yet existed in the world.

But England learned many valuable lessons from the American Revolution. In the new empire which she began to build up as soon as the old one was lost, it might have been expected that she would have fought shy of those principles of self-government which seemed to have led to such disastrous results in America. But she did not do so; the habits of freemen were too deeply rooted in her sons to make it possible for her to deny them self-governing rights in their new homes. On the contrary, she learned, during the nineteenth century, to welcome every expansion of freedom; and she gradually felt her way towards realizing a partnership of free peoples whereby freedom should be combined with union.

THE BEGINNING OF A GREAT NATION

At length, with the surrender of the British army at Yorktown, the war between the American colonies and the mother country came to an end. The English people had long been heartily sick of it, and only the stubbornness of George III and his favorites had made its continuance possible.

"I have sacrificed all my desires to the wishes and opinions of my people," said the king, very graciously.

A treaty of peace was signed at Paris, whereby the British government acknowledged the independence of the thirteen United States; and to this treaty George gave his reluctant assent. "I was the last man in England," he afterwards said, "to agree to the independence of the American colonies; and I will be the last to permit that independence to be violated."

The treaty marked the final downfall of the English monarchy and another great triumph of Liberty on both sides of the Atlantic. In Great Britain, the control of affairs became vested in the Cabinet, representing the people; and the power of the king to become an autocratic ruler was forever ended.

Although eight years had then passed since the Declaration of Independence, no great nation had been established in America. Up to that time the general affairs of the states had been managed by the Continental Congress. This congress was not much

like the great law-making body which now meets at Washington. It was simply an assemblage of men acting for the various states — men delegated, each by his own state, to speak the will of the people whom they represented. A state might send from two to seven delegates to the congress, but it could have only one vote.

In the very last year of the war, the states adopted an agreement to stand united in all matters affecting the general welfare. This agreement was called: "Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union between the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia."

These Articles did not provide for the establishment of a strong government. They did not look to the formation of a single mighty nation, but only to the perpetual union of several little states — "a league of friendship for their common defense and the security of their liberties."

Under these Articles of Confederation, the government of the United States was to be entirely conducted by a congress of delegates from the states, very similar to the old Continental Congress. There was to be no president of the United States; there was no senate; there was no supreme court.

The congress itself had but little power. It could

make laws, but could not enforce them. It could borrow money ("on the faith of the Union"), but it could not pay a dollar. It could declare war, but could not raise an army. "In short, it might recommend almost anything, but it could enforce nothing."

Thinking men in all the colonies began very soon to see the weakness of this league of the states. They were convinced that a closer union and a stronger government were needed to preserve the liberties of the people. George Washington was one of the first to speak out boldly: "Let us have a government by which our lives, liberties, and properties will be secured, or let us know the worst at once."

At length, a convention was called to meet in Philadelphia in May, 1787, and determine what should be done. All the states except Rhode Island sent delegates to that convention. George Washington of Virginia was chosen to preside over its meetings. Benjamin Franklin, Alexander Hamilton, Robert Morris, James Madison, and many other distinguished patriots were there. •

The work to be performed by the members of this convention was such as no other men had ever before undertaken. They were to frame a constitution for a new nation. They were to plan a system of republican government unlike anything else at that time existing upon the earth. They did not at first fully realize this fact. Some thought that nothing would be necessary except to revise and improve

the old Articles of Confederation; but, as they proceeded to discuss the matter, this was soon found to be impossible, and all the delegates joined in preparing and proposing new and original schemes for the establishment of a supreme general government.

Several plans, differing but slightly in detail, were offered for consideration. The discussions continued, day after day, for several weeks. Every section of the proposed Constitution was read and re-read, and carefully criticized and amended. Finally, on the fifteenth of September in the year 1787, it passed its final reading and was formally approved and adopted by the convention. Two days later, it was signed by all the delegates and was in a form to be submitted to the states for their ratification.

But the states were not all equally ready to commit themselves to this new form of government. Some delayed as a matter of precaution; others hesitated because of doubt or disagreement. By the middle of July, 1788, however, nine of them had accepted and ratified the Constitution, and plans were made to put the new government into operation. Elections of the two houses of Congress were held, and George Washington was unanimously chosen to be the first president of the republic. It was not till nearly two years later, however, that the last of the states came into the fold, and the Union of the thirteen original commonwealths was complete. The launching of the Ship of State had been accomplished.

THE SHIP OF STATE¹

THOU, too, sail on, O Ship of State!
Sail on, O Union, strong and great!
Humanity, with all its fears,
With all the hopes of future years,
Is hanging breathless on thy fate!
We know what master laid thy keel,
What workmen wrought thy ribs of steel,
Who made each mast and sail and rope,
What anvils rang, what hammers beat,
In what a forge and what a heat,
Were shaped the anchors of thy hope!

Fear not each sudden sound and shock,
'Tis of the wave, and not the rock;
'Tis but the flapping of the sail,
And not a rent made by the gale.
In spite of rock and tempest's roar,
In spite of false lights on the shore,
Sail on, nor fear to breast the sea!
Our hearts, our hopes are all with thee;
Our hearts, our hopes, our prayers, our tears,
Our faith triumphant o'er our fears —
Are all with thee, are all with thee!

— HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW

¹ From "The Building of the Ship." By permission of, and by special arrangement with, Houghton Mifflin Company, authorized publishers.

THE CONSTITUTIONS OF TWO NATIONS

THE word *Constitution*, in its political sense, may be defined as a system of law established by the sovereign power of a nation for its own guidance and protection.

In all English-speaking nations the sovereign power is recognized as the people themselves. Herein consists the difference between a democracy, or government by the people, and an autocracy in which the sovereignty is vested in a monarch with unlimited powers.

The Constitution of Great Britain is not contained in any single document as is that of the United States, but it comprises the whole body of public law that has come into existence at various times for the defense and upbuilding of the people's rights and liberties. It is not the conscious work of a convention of statesmen and patriots, but the slow growth, through many centuries, of the spirit of human liberty and the rights of man. It had its beginning in the ancient democratic usages of our common forefathers between the seas, and its first definite expression was the Magna Charta, or Great Charter, wrested from King John more than seven centuries ago.

Slowly through the ages, it has been amended and enlarged by successive agreements between king and

people and by the enactment of various laws defining the powers and privileges of the several divisions of government.

The American Constitution, being formally contained in a single written document, is very different in form; and yet it is based upon the same principles of justice and liberty that are, and always shall be, the inherent possessions of the Anglo-Saxon peoples.

In its brief introductory clause, the sovereignty of the people is distinctly recognized and the purpose of its enactment is definitely stated:

"We the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this CONSTITUTION for the United States of America."

In America, as in England, the government of the nation is intrusted to three separate authorities or departments, each in a measure dependent upon the others. These are known as the legislative, the executive, and the judicial departments.

In England, the supreme legislative or law-making power is given to Parliament. This consists of the House of Lords and the House of Commons, with the king as a nominal and insignificant factor. The present form of Parliament has been in existence nearly six hundred years, or since the days of that stanch old patriot, Simon de Montfort.

The House of Lords is composed of the peers of the realm (English, Scottish, and Irish) and of English bishops, who are members as representatives of the Established Church. Some of the peers hold their seats by right of heritage, some by the king's appointment, and others by election.

The House of Commons consists of members elected by the people to represent the counties, boroughs, and universities of the kingdom.

Formerly, all the members of Parliament served without pay; but, since 1911, the members of the House of Commons are entitled to a salary equal to about \$2000 a year. The lords and bishops receive no compensation.

The United States Constitution invests all legislative power in a Congress "which shall consist of a Senate and a House of Representatives." The Senate, which corresponds somewhat to the House of Lords, is composed of two senators from each state. These are elected by the people of their respective states, and hold their office for a term of six years.

The House of Representatives is composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several states. Representatives and direct taxes are apportioned among the several states according to the population, but each state, however small, is entitled to at least one representative.

As in the English Parliament, each house of Congress determines the rules of its proceedings, decides

with regard to disputed elections, and punishes members guilty of misconduct.

A Congress is said to be in existence two years, the length of time for which the members of the House of Representatives are elected. The duration of a Parliament is limited to five years, and may be made shorter by being formally dissolved or dismissed by the king.

In the United States, the executive power is vested in a president who is elected by a body of electors chosen by the people. The president's term of office is four years; but he may be reëlected. In England, the executive power is said to be vested in the crown, by which is meant the hereditary king or queen. The people have no voice in the selection of a monarch, and his reign continues to the end of his life. His real power, however, is very limited; for, in truth, the executive duties of the government are performed by a committee of statesmen and politicians, commonly known as the British Cabinet. These continue in office as long as they are supported by a majority of the House of Commons. The chief place in the Cabinet is commonly held by the First Lord of the Treasury. He is nominally chosen by the king and is called the prime minister or premier. He must, however, belong to the leading party in the House of Commons and be acceptable to them. The other members of the Cabinet are, as a rule, appointed by the prime minister.

It is the prime minister, therefore, and not the king, who wields the principal executive power in the English government. His power may be compared to that of the president of the United States, although it is more limited and his tenure of office is less secure.

The president of the United States has also a Cabinet, but its existence is not so much as mentioned in the Constitution. It is composed of the heads of the ten executive departments of the government, and its duties, aside from the management of each department, are chiefly advisory.

The judicial powers of both nations are vested in a supreme court and such other courts as may from time to time be established.

The methods of taxation and the means for raising revenue receive due consideration in the constitutions of both nations.

In the American Constitution, provisions are also made by which Congress is empowered to regulate commerce between the states and foreign nations and between the states themselves; to coin money and regulate the value of currency; to establish post-offices and post roads; to declare war and maintain armies; to equip and support a navy; in short, "to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution all the powers vested by the Constitution in the government of the United States or in any department or officer therein."

There are certain things also which Congress is forbidden to do, and others which are forbidden to the states, because they would trespass on the liberties of the people or hinder the full exercise of equality, justice, and freedom.

Finally, to the original Constitution, a number of supplementary articles, known as amendments, have been added from time to time, as necessity or changed conditions of national life have seemed to demand. Some of these bear a striking resemblance to certain provisions found in the Great Charter of King John, in the Petition of Right granted by Charles I, or in later changes and concessions forced by English free-men from their would-be autocratic rulers. As we pause in our study of these great charters of human liberty, we cannot fail to observe their similarity of spirit and purpose.

The Great Charter, the Petition of Right, the Mayflower Compact, the various royal charters granted to American colonies, the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States—these and others are the milestones which mark the progress of our Anglo-Saxon race towards the final realization of the highest ideals of right and justice and human brotherhood.

WHAT BENJAMIN FRANKLIN SAID ABOUT THE AMERICAN CONSTITUTION¹

SIR, I agree to this Constitution, with all its faults — if there are such — because I think a general government necessary for us, and there is no form



Benjamin Franklin

of government but what may be a blessing to the people if well administered; and I believe, further, that this is likely to be well administered for a course

¹ From a speech delivered before the Constitutional Convention just before its adjournment, 1787.

of years, and can only end in despotism, as other forms have done before it, when the people shall become so corrupted as to need despotic government, being incapable of any other.

I doubt, too, whether any other convention we can obtain may be able to make a better Constitution; for, when you assemble a number of men, to have the advantage of their joint wisdom, you inevitably assemble with those men all their prejudices, their passions, their errors of opinion, their local interests, and their selfish views. From such an assembly can a perfect production be expected?

It therefore astonished me, sir, to find this system approaching so near to perfection as it does; and I think it will astonish our enemies, who are waiting with confidence to hear that our counsels are confounded like those of the builders of Babel, and that our States are on the point of separation only to meet hereafter for the purpose of cutting one another's throats.

Thus I consent, sir, to this Constitution, because I expect no better. . . . I hope, therefore, for our own sakes, as a part of the people, and for the sake of our posterity, that we shall act heartily and unanimously in recommending this Constitution wherever our influence may extend, and turn our future thoughts and endeavors to the means of having it well administered.

WHAT DANIEL WEBSTER SAID ABOUT THE AMERICAN CONSTITUTION

THE Constitution of the United States, the nearest approach of mortal to perfect political wisdom, was the work of men who purchased liberty with their blood, but who found that, without organization, freedom was not a blessing. They formed it, and the people, in their intelligence, adopted it. And what has been its history? Has it trodden down any man's rights? Has it circumscribed the liberty of the press? Has it stopped the mouth of any honest man? Has it held us up as objects of disgrace abroad? How much the reverse! It has given us character abroad; and when, with Washington at its head, it went forth to the world, this young country at once became the most interesting and imposing in the circle of civilized nations.



Daniel Webster

SUPPLEMENTARY STUDIES

What is a Constitution?

Why is a Constitution necessary?

What is a democracy? an autocracy?

What is meant by "sovereign power"?

What is the chief difference between the British Constitution and the American?

How long has the British Constitution been in the making?

How long did it require to frame the American Constitution?

What are the three separate departments of government?

What is meant by "legislative department"? "executive"? "judicial"?

In what way does the English Parliament resemble the American Congress? In what way does it differ from it?

What is the chief executive officer in the United States government called? in the British government?

How is the British Cabinet formed?

Of how many members is the American Cabinet composed? By whom are they appointed?

Who is the prime minister? Which has the greater power, the king, or the prime minister?

Tell what you have learned about the origin of circuit courts.

Read the Constitution carefully and notice the contents of each article and section.

Make a list of the powers granted to Congress.

Make another list of the powers granted to the president.

What are the states forbidden to do?

What powers are granted to them by the Constitution?

Make a list of the things which Congress is forbidden to do.

How many articles does the original Constitution contain?

What is the subject of each?

HOW AMERICANS FELT TOWARD ENGLAND A HUNDRED YEARS AGO¹

THERE is a general impression in England that the people of the United States are inimical to the parent country. It is one of the errors which have been diligently propagated by designing writers. But, generally speaking, the prepossessions of the people are strongly in favor of England. Indeed, at one time, they amounted in many parts of the Union to an absurd degree of bigotry. The bare name of Englishman was a passport to the confidence and hospitality of every family, and too often gave a transient currency to the worthless and the ungrateful.

Throughout the country there was something of enthusiasm connected with the idea of England. We looked to it with a hallowed feeling of tenderness and veneration, as the land of our forefathers — the august repository of the monuments and antiquities of our race — the birthplace and the mausoleum of the sages and heroes of our paternal history.

After our own country, there was none in whose glory we more delighted, none whose good opinion we were more anxious to possess, none towards which our hearts yearned with such throbbings of con-

¹ From "The Sketch Book," by Washington Irving, published in 1819.

sanguinity. Even during the late war,¹ whenever there was the least opportunity for kind feelings to spring forth, it was the delight of the generous spirits of our country to show that, in the midst of hostilities, they still kept alive the sparks of future friendship. . . .

We are a young people, necessarily an imitative one, and must take our examples and models, in a great degree, from the existing nations of Europe. There is no country more worthy of our study than England. The spirit of her Constitution is most analogous to ours. The manners of her people, their intellectual activity, their freedom of opinion, their habits of thinking on those subjects which concern the dearest interests and most sacred charities of private life, are all congenial to the American character, and, in fact, are all intrinsically excellent; for it is in the moral feeling of the people that the deep foundations of British prosperity are laid. . . .

We may thus place England before us as a perpetual volume of reference, wherein are recorded sound deductions from ages of experience; and while we avoid the errors and absurdities which may have crept into the page, we may draw thence golden maxims of practical wisdom, wherewith to strengthen and to embellish our national character.

¹The war of 1812.

WHAT RUFUS CHOATE SAID ABOUT OUR FEELING TOWARD GREAT BRITAIN¹

MR. PRESIDENT, that there exists in this country an intense sentiment of nationality — a cherished, energetic feeling and consciousness of our independent and separate national existence — no one will attempt to deny. . . . But, sir, that there exists a temper of hostility towards this one particular nation — this I earnestly and confidently deny.

Shall young America, free, prosperous, just setting out on the highway of heaven — shall she be supposed to be corroding her noble and happy heart by moping over old stories of Stamp Act and tea tax?

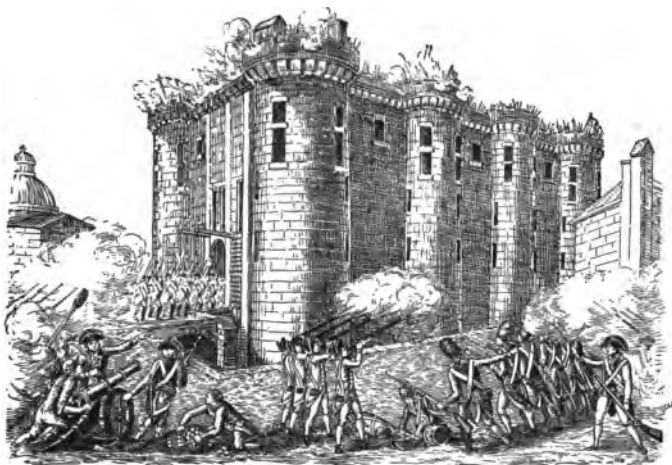
No, sir! No, sir; a thousand times, no! Why, I protest I thought all that had been settled. I thought two wars had settled it all. . . . And have we come back sulky and sullen from the very field of honor? For my country, I deny it.



Rufus Choate

¹ From a speech in the United States Senate in 1844. Abridged and slightly adapted.

Mr. President, let me say that, in my judgment, this notion of a national feeling of enmity towards Great Britain belongs to a past age. My younger countrymen are unconscious of it. . . . They disavow it. We are born to happier feelings. We look on England as we look on France. We look on them both from our new world — a world not unrenowned, yet nevertheless *new*; and the blood mounts to our cheeks; our eyes swim; our voices are stifled with emulousness of so much glory; their trophies will not let us sleep. But there is not hatred at all; no hatred; everything for honor, nothing for hate! We have, we can have, no barbarian memory of wrongs, for which brave men have made the last expiation to the brave.



The Bastille

THE FOURTEENTH OF JULY

It is a Monday morning in Paris in the same year that George Washington became the first president of the United States.

The shops are all closed, business is suspended, the streets are alive with hustling, noisy, excited people. These are for the most part working people, men and women of the commoner sort, tradesmen and shopkeepers, day laborers. All are crowding this way and that, shouting, gesticulating, calling one to another. Some are armed with pikes, some with old firelocks, while others carry clubs, sticks, stones — anything that can be used as a weapon.

What can be the cause of this strange turmoil? Against what is all this seemingly meaningless fury directed?

The vast crowds roar and rage through many narrow streets, but chiefly towards one place, around one huge object. They mass themselves about a certain medieval fortress of brick and stone that looms up, dark and gloomy and threatening, above the housetops, the steeples, and the towers of the city. Men with pikes and swords and old-fashioned firearms crowd around the drawbridge and great gateway, both of which are closed; they shake their fists defiantly towards the eight massive towers that frown down upon them.

What is this building, and why should the wrath of the people be directed towards a mere mass of brick and stone?

This is the Bastille, the fortress of fortresses, built more than 400 years ago to assert and defend the authority of kings. It is the great prison house of France where autocratic power has for centuries had its will, and where countless numbers of innocent people have suffered unjustly at the hands of tyrants. In the eyes of the people — the common people — it is the emblem of oppression and injustice, the embodiment of tyranny.

"Down with it!" they cry. "Down with the Bastille!"

For hundreds and hundreds of years the French people have patiently borne the burdens and endured the stripes which a long line of despotic monarchs has imposed upon them. They — the com-

moners — have paid all the taxes of the government; they have supported in wealth and idleness the king, the nobles, the priesthood; but they have been denied all the rights of citizenship, all those inherent liberties which are so dear to humanity. They have been slaves so long that they have almost forgotten the meaning of freedom. And now as the crowd surges angrily about the gateway of the hated Bastille, they shout fearlessly, "Down with it! Down with oppression and the oppressor! Give us liberty."

At the corners of the streets, earnest men, excited men, are haranguing the multitude. "Why do we remain slaves?" they ask. "Have you not heard of free America? Did not our Lafayette help the American colonists to shake off the yoke of kingly authority? Citizens, let us strike for liberty, equality, and the brotherhood of men!"

Meanwhile, drums are beating, the church bells are ringing, the tumult is increasing. Those in authority order the French Guards to go out and quell the disturbance. They flatly refuse. They leave their officers standing alone and go over, not to quell but to help the disturbance. There are three thousand six hundred of them, trained fighting men, fully armed, and having even cannon and cannoneers. Within an hour their number will be doubled, quadrupled. And now the cry becomes an insistent roar, "Down with the Bastille! Down with oppression and tyranny!"

Directly a summons is sent to De Launay, the keeper of the prison, demanding its surrender. He is true to his masters, the king and the nobility. His answer is "Never!" and he commands the hired Swiss guards who are with him to be in readiness against any attack.

As the hours pass by, the fury of the multitude increases. They call for more arms, for gunpowder, for cannon balls. They dig trenches, build barricades, all day long, even far into the night; they fill the streets with confusion and threatenings, preparing for the morrow.

At length another morning dawns. It is Tuesday, the 14th of July, 1789. The crowds have increased both in number and in intensity of purpose. The footsteps and thoughts of all patriots are towards the Bastille. Cannon have been brought up and trained upon the drawbridge, the great gateway, and the massive walls of the prison.

De Launay, the keeper, has retired into the inner fortifications. What can his garrison of eighty-two old men and thirty-two Swiss hirelings do? The walls are nine feet thick, and powder and guns are at hand; but the provisions have been exhausted. Deputations of citizens cry out to the keeper demanding surrender. He is hopeless, and yet determined. He looks out upon a sea of men; they fill every street; he hears their hoarse cries; already there is a crackle of musketry, foretelling a more vigorous assault.

What can he do but defend his charge? The word is spoken. From the loopholes of the fortress there is a sputter of fire, a roar of guns. Men in the streets fall dead.—slain by the hirelings of the king. With that the unbounded rage of the multitude flares up, bursts forth in a storm of execration. The cannon are brought into play, vainly pelting the walls and towers with grapeshot; they are answered by the great gun of the fortress, booming to show what De Launay might do if he chose.

“Down with the Bastille! Down with the tyranny of kings!”

And now the battle rages and roars all round the hated prison house. Every device is used to force De Launay with his old men and his Swiss helpers to surrender. Straw is burned to smoke them out; the firemen squirt water through the portholes to dampen the powder; some suggest the use of battering rams to break down the drawbridge and demolish the great gate.

De Launay knows that the hour of doom is at hand. He is still resolved not to surrender, and yet he must surrender or die. He sits within arm's length of the powder magazine, motionless, but determined. When all is done that can be done, it will be easy, he says, to blow both the Bastille and himself into eternity. It is a deed grim to contemplate; and yet he cannot bring himself to do it.

For four dreadful hours the conflict rages. De

Launay sits in his place, giving commands, hesitating, firm in his obedience to his masters. His old soldiers fight listlessly or hide themselves under the battlements. The Swiss grow weary of firing; they have no heart in the fighting. At length, down below, close by the drawbridge, a porthole is opened; a hand is thrust through it — the hand of a Swiss; and in that hand is a folded paper.

The besiegers who stand nearest the gateway see the hand with the paper; but the wide, deep moat yawns between, and, with the drawbridge raised, who can pass? . . . Ay, yes! but there is a single narrow plank bridging the chasm; and over this, reckless of his life, a young man rushes. He snatches the paper and returns.

The besiegers stand breathless while he reads. "We surrender if all are pardoned." Not much is written, but enough. "We agree! we agree!" shout those who listen. It is easy to promise, but mobs never pardon.

The drawbridge is let down. The great gate is thrown open. A human flood pours in. The Bastille is taken! No more shall it stand a menace to freedom and an emblem of autocratic power.

The work of destruction is begun at once. Tomorrow, and the vast building will be but a heap of ruins; a week later, and not one stone will be left upon another.

It is not yet midnight of this eventful 14th of July. In his splendid palace at Versailles, built with the sweat and tears of millions of poor people, King Louis XVI lies sleeping. Suddenly, a messenger arrives, breathless, demanding instant audience with the king.

Louis is awakened. He rubs his eyes; he listens with alarm while the messenger relates how the Bastille has fallen.

"Why-why!" he stammers, "this is a revolt."

"No, sire!" returns the messenger, "it is a *revolution*."

It was thus, my American schoolboy, that liberty began to dawn in France. It was thus that the spirit of liberty, nurtured and cherished by the Anglo-Saxon race, began to assert itself among the oppressed of other lands; the flames of revolt against autocracy were spreading. And because it happened on the 14th day of July, we celebrate that day with our French neighbors and friends, just as they, in return, rejoice with us when the 4th of July comes to remind us of the birth of American Independence.

THE BASTILLE¹

YE horrid towers, the abode of broken hearts;
Ye dungeons and ye cages of despair,
That monarchs have supplied from age to age
With music such as suits their sovereign ears —
The sighs and groans of miserable men.
There's not an English heart that would not leap
To hear that you were fallen at last, to know
That even our enemies, so oft employed
In forging chains for us, themselves were free.
For he that values liberty, confines
His zeal for her predominance within
No narrow bounds — her cause engages him
Wherever pleaded.

— WILLIAM COWPER.

TO LIBERTY²

O LIBERTY! can man resign thee,
Once having felt thy generous flame?
Can dungeons, bolts, or bars confine thee?
Or whips thy noble spirit tame?
Too long the world has wept, bewailing
That falsehood's dagger tyrants wield;
But freedom is our sword and shield,
And all their arts are unavailing!

¹ Written four years before the destruction of the great prison.

² From "The Marseillaise," French national hymn.

THE DOCTRINE THAT IS MORE THAN A DOCTRINE

It is now about one hundred years since a great conspiracy against human liberty was formed in the historic city of Verona in Italy. In one of the many palaces of that city, made famous by the presence of popes and emperors and kings, a convention of the powers of Europe was sitting. The czar of Russia was there, and all the other great despots of the time were represented by their ablest statesmen and diplomats.

The nominal object of the convention was to settle certain troublesome international questions without going to war; the real object was to perpetuate an alliance — the Holy Alliance it was called — for the suppression of popular government throughout the world. Much was said and agreed to concerning Italy and Spain, Turkey and Greece; but the gist of the whole matter was contained in the first article of an agreement which was signed by all the powers except one.

The substance of this article when put into plain English was as follows:

“The high contracting powers composing this Holy Alliance are opposed to all government by the people. They believe such government to be opposed to the doctrine of divine right. They therefore engage mutually, in the most solemn

manner, to use all their efforts to put an end to the system of representative governments in whatever country it may exist in Europe, and to prevent its being introduced in those countries where it is not yet known."

Now, at the time this precious document was signed, the only purely democratic government in the world was that of the United States. Certain Spanish colonies in South America, encouraged by the example of the United States, were about to set up republican governments of their own; and it was to prevent this that the despots of Europe were now putting their heads together and solemnly pledging their opposition. Sitting in that august convention, as the delegate from Great Britain, was the most famous Englishman of his time, the Duke of Wellington. One by one, the czar of Russia, the emperor of Austria, the king of Prussia, or their representatives, set their names to this agreement to crush democracy wherever it existed. When the document came to the duke, he arose and left the convention, refusing to have anything to do with such a proposition.

This action of Great Britain's representative made the despots pause. It had been their intention not only to aid Spain in crushing her rebellious colonies but also to overthrow the free government of the United States and establish a monarchy in its place. But now the British government, recognizing the danger which threatened our country, came boldly to our rescue. Through George Canning, her min-

ister of foreign affairs, she informed the United States that if the Holy Alliance should attempt to interfere with our freedom, the whole British fleet would come to our aid; and the word passed on to the Holy Alliance was "Hands off in America!"

Our president at that time was James Monroe. He wrote a letter to Thomas Jefferson, then near the end of life, asking his opinion concerning the designs of the Holy Alliance and also concerning the British government's offer of friendship. "It is my impression," he said, "that we ought to meet the proposal of Great Britain by allying ourselves with her in defense of liberty."



James Monroe

Mr. Jefferson, although strongly prejudiced against the British government, was in full agreement with the president. "America, North and South," he replied, "has a set of interests distinct from those of Europe. While the latter is laboring to become the domicile of despotism, our endeavor should surely be to make our hemisphere the home of freedom. . . . Great Britain is the nation which can do us the most harm of any on earth; and with her on our side we need not fear the world. With her, then, we should most sedulously cherish a cordial friendship,

and nothing would tend more to unite our affections than to be fighting once more, side by side, in the same cause."

Encouraged by these words of his great predecessor, President Monroe proceeded to state with distinctness the position of America with reference to interference by foreign powers; and he declared that "we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere *as dangerous to our own peace and safety.*"

It was thus that the conspiracy against liberty, first set on foot by the Holy Alliance, was promptly met and frustrated by the combined influence and attitude of the two great Anglo-Saxon nations.

The principle enunciated by President Monroe, that no foreign power should attempt to extend its system to any part of the American continent, is popularly known as the Monroe Doctrine. It is, however, much more than a doctrine. It is the declaration of a firm purpose to preserve forever this portion of the globe from the greed and the tyranny of European autocracy. It has never been formulated into law; but it has become deeply rooted in the American heart and consciousness, and any violation of it will be resented by the entire Anglo-Saxon race. It is the voice of the English-speaking peoples declaring that America must be now and always "safe for democracy." Its promulgation in 1823 marks another milestone in the story of human liberty.

WHAT IS THE BRITISH EMPIRE?¹

THE vast realms of the British Empire fall naturally into three groups: (1) the great self-governing dominions, Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, and Newfoundland; (2) the lands of ancient civilization, India and Egypt; and (3) the wide protectorates in Africa and also in Asia and the Pacific, which are inhabited by backward and primitive peoples. There are other regions also, such as the military posts and calling stations like Gibraltar, Malta, and Aden, which do not fall into any of these three categories.

If we consider as a whole the character of this vast empire, the first thing that strikes us is that while it is by far the biggest of all the world dominions of modern times, it is also the most loosely organized of them all. It is rather a partnership of a multitude of states in every grade of civilization.

It includes among its population representatives of almost every human race and religion, from the Australian bushman to the subtle and philosophic Brahmin, from the African dwarf to the master of modern industry or the scholar of universities. It embodies some of the most democratic communities

¹ Adapted in part from "The Character of the British Empire" by Ramsay Muir.

which the world has known. It finds place for the highly organized caste system by which the teeming millions of India are held together. It preserves the simple tribal organization of the African clans.

To the self-governing dominions it is a brotherhood of nations. To the ancient civilizations of India or Egypt it has brought peace instead of turmoil, law instead of arbitrary might, unity instead of chaos, justice instead of oppression, freedom and the prospect of a steady growth of national unity. To the backward races it has meant the suppression of unending slaughter, the disappearance of slavery, the protection of the rights and usages of primitive folk against reckless exploitation, and the chance of gradual emancipation from barbarism. And to all alike—to one quarter of the inhabitants of the globe—it has meant the establishment of the reign of law and of liberty which can exist only under its shelter.

To some short-sighted or prejudiced people the very existence of this huge empire seems to stultify in some degree the cause for which the world's democracies have combined in arms against arbitrary or autocratic power. To such persons it seems, at first thought, to be simply the greatest example of that spirit of conquest and of military dominion against which we are striving. Men's minds are easily influenced by mere words. To many, the word "empire" suggests conquest and dominion over unwilling subjects. But that this word is really misapplied to

the British realms needs no demonstration beyond the facts just stated. The character of the government of those realms and of the bond which holds them together would be much better expressed by a phrase which is already much used — the *British Commonwealth of Nations*.

In the Great War, more than a million volunteer soldiers from the self-governing colonies of the British Empire enlisted, without any compulsion, in the armies of Great Britain. The princes and peoples of India vied with one another in their generous and spontaneous gifts to the cause, while Indian forces fought gallantly side by side with British troops. That is not the sort of thing which happens when the masters of a tyrannical dominion find themselves fighting for their very life. Even the most recently subdued of African tribes showed no desire to seize this opportunity for throwing off "the foreign yoke." On the contrary, they sent touching gifts and offers of aid and expressions of sympathy and good will. It is very evident that the subjects of the "Empire" have no cause for a quarrel with its government, but are well content to remain under its sheltering protection.



WHAT IS THE AMERICAN UNION?

I

The glorious nation whose whole history is but a development of the idea of liberty remains true to its lofty origin and creates for itself another claim to the gratitude of mankind.

— DESCHANEL

THE principal object which the framers of the American Constitution had in view is briefly but explicitly stated in the first sentence of the introductory clause — “to form a more perfect union.” Under the Articles of Confederation the thirteen states were united simply in a league of friendship, each being in a large measure independent of all the others. Under the Constitution, they were welded into a more

perfect union wherein justice was established, domestic tranquillity insured, the means for common defense provided, and the blessings of liberty secured to countless generations.

Each of the states comprising the Union has also its own constitution, while at the same time it is subject to the general government established by the Constitution of the United States. Within its own boundaries and with regard to matters of purely local concern, it is an independent commonwealth. All the states have equal rights and equal powers under the Constitution. No state, as a matter of course, can do anything which contradicts or is in violation of the laws of the nation.

For many years after the adoption of the Constitution the people of some of the states were slow to understand the full meaning of the word Union. Each individual was loyal to his own state first, and after that to the United States. This gave rise to the doctrine of "States' Rights" which held that any state might disregard the laws of the nation and even withdraw from the Union whenever its citizens became dissatisfied with the general government. In certain localities, this idea grew and led finally to the secession of eleven states and the attempt to form another government to be called the Confederate States of America. The result was the Civil War of 1861 to 1865, which ended in the establishment of the fact that the states are permanently

combined to form a federal republic — a union which never can and never will be dissolved.

The American Union now includes forty-eight sovereign states all equal in political rights and in the exercise of powers permitted and delegated to them by the national Constitution. Besides these states, there are two organized territories, Alaska and Hawaii; the dependencies of Porto Rico and the Philippine Islands; Guam and Tutuila in the Pacific Ocean; the Panama Canal Zone; and the District of Columbia. Over all these, the flag of stars and stripes floats to proclaim liberty, equality of political rights, and the brotherhood of mankind. If the British Empire may be described as a Commonwealth of Free Nations, the United States may, with equal propriety, be called a Union of Free Commonwealths.

II¹

On the British Empire the sun never sets. With equal truth it may be said that daylight is forever present in the American republic. It is literally true that in August the sunset has not ceased to flash on the spears of the fishermen in Alaska before it begins to glint and blaze on the axes of the woodsmen in Maine.

Unroll the map of the United States. How large is Texas? You could bury in it the German Empire,

¹ Adapted in part from a lecture by Joseph Cooke, 1865.

and have room enough left for England and Wales. How large is California? You could bury in it England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and have room enough left for Switzerland and Belgium. How large is Colorado? You could bury in it Norway and have room enough left for Denmark. How large is Iowa? You could bury in it Switzerland and Portugal. How large is Lake Superior? You could sink Scotland in it. How large is New York? You could bury in it Belgium and Switzerland and Greece.

How large is the estimated area of arable land in the United States? Half as large as the United States. How many countries of Europe must be put together to make a region equal in extent to that of the good arable soil of the United States? Austria, Germany, and France? These and more. Spain, Sweden, and Norway added? These and more. England, Scotland, and Ireland in addition? These and more. Portugal, the Netherlands, Greece, Switzerland, Denmark, and Belgium? All these sixteen regions must be thrown together to cover, not our territory as a whole, but that half of it which is good arable soil. These countries, with their good and poor soil, maintain two hundred millions of people. The good land of the United States will certainly sustain as many as their good and poor land taken together.

With whatever telescope I sweep the horizon, I, for one, stand in awe. I set no dates; I seek to establish approximately no definite numbers. I assert

only that America can sustain a larger population than Europe, Asia, and Africa taken together; that we may expect as large an average population as Europe now possesses; that America is yet in its infancy; that for these immense numbers of the human family we stand in trust.

III¹

WE cannot honor our country with too deep a reverence. We cannot love her with an affection too pure and fervent. We cannot serve her with an energy of purpose too steadfast or a zeal too ardent.

And what is our country?

It is not the East, with her hills and her valleys, with countless sails, and the rocky ramparts of her shores.

It is not the North, with her thousand villages and her fertile farms and her frontiers of lakes and ocean.

It is not the West, with her luxuriant expanses of growing grain, with her forest sea and her inland isles.

Nor is it yet the South, opulent in her fields of snowy cotton, in her plantations of sugar cane, and in her vast forests of pine.

What are these but the sister families of one greater, better, holier family — OUR COUNTRY?

¹ From an oration by Thomas S. Grimke of South Carolina.

LIBERTY AND UNION

WHEN my eyes shall be turned to behold for the last time the sun in heaven, may I not see him shining on the broken and dishonored fragments of a once glorious Union — on states dissevered, discordant, belligerent; on a land rent with civil feuds, or drenched, it may be, in fraternal blood! Let their last feeble and lingering glance rather behold the gorgeous ensign of the Republic, now known and honored throughout the earth, still full high advanced, its arms and trophies streaming in their original luster, not a stripe erased or polluted nor a single star obscured, bearing for its motto no such miserable interrogatory as "What is this all worth?" — nor those other words of delusion and folly, "Liberty first and Union afterwards"; but, everywhere, spread all over in characters of living light, blazing on all its ample folds, as they float over the sea and over the land, and in every wind under the whole heavens, that other sentiment, dear to every true American heart — "*Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable!*"

— DANIEL WEBSTER

AMERICA TO GREAT BRITAIN

ALL HAIL! thou noble land,
Our fathers' native soil!
Oh, stretch thy mighty hand,
Gigantic grown by toil,
O'er the vast Atlantic wave to our shore!
For thou, with magic might,
Canst reach to where the light
Of Phoebus travels bright
The world o'er.

Though ages long have passed
Since our fathers left their home,
Their pilot but the blast,
O'er untraveled seas to roam,
Yet lives the blood of England in our veins.
And shall we not proclaim
That blood of honest fame
Which no tyranny can tame
By its chains?

While the manners, while the arts,
That mold a nation's soul,
Still cling around our hearts,
Between let Ocean roll,
Our joint communion breaking with the sun;
Yet still from either beach
The voice of blood shall reach,
More audible than speech,
"We are One!"

— WASHINGTON ALLSTON

ENGLAND TO AMERICA

GIGANTIC daughter of the West,
We drink to thee across the flood;
We know thee most, we love thee best —
For art thou not of British blood?
Should war's mad blast again be blown,
Permit not thou the Tyrant Powers
To fight thy mother here alone,
But let thy broadsides roar with ours,
Hands all round!

God, the tyrant's cause confound!
To our great kinsmen of the West, my friends,
And the great name of England, round and round!

Oh, rise, our strong Atlantic sons,
When war against our freedom springs!
Oh, speak to Europe through your guns,
They can be understood by kings.
You must not mix our Queen¹ with those
That wish to keep their people fools;
Our freedom's foemen are her foes;
She comprehends the race she rules,
Hands all round!

God, the tyrant's cause confound!
To our great kinsmen in the West, my friends,
And the great cause of Freedom, round and round!

— ALFRED TENNYSON

¹ The poem was written in the reign of Queen Victoria.

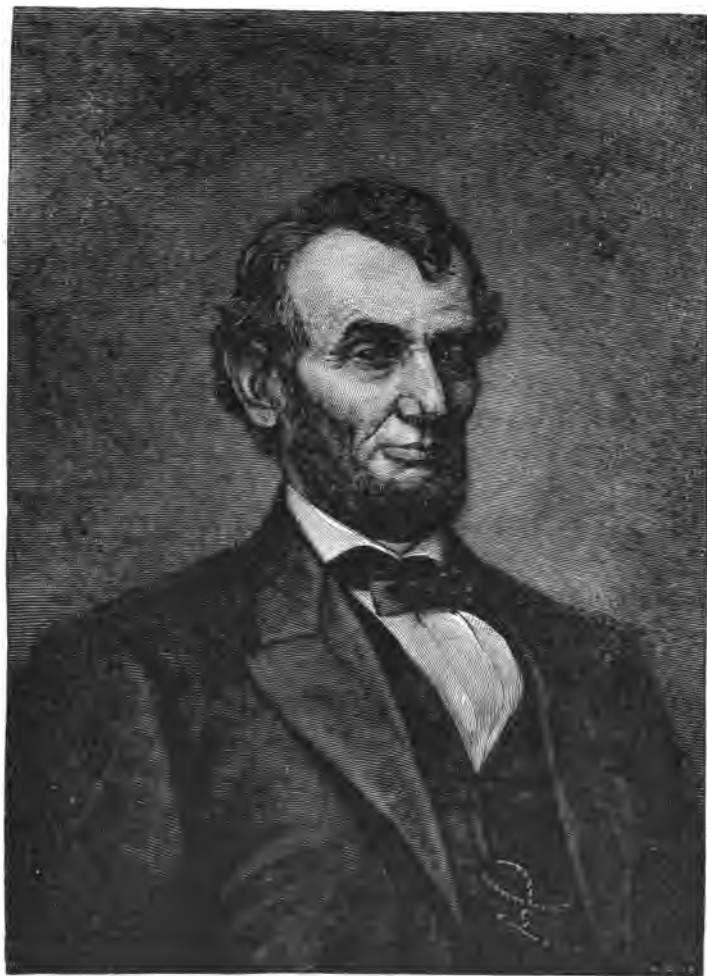
THE GREAT EMANCIPATION

THE earliest people of whom we have any account kept slaves. All the great nations that we read about in ancient history were slave-holding nations. Even at the present time in barbarous and half-civilized countries, there are many slaves. It was not until within the memory of men now living that the majority of enlightened people began to think of human bondage as unwise and unjust.

Our forefathers for many generations regarded negroes and Indians as inferior beings, having no rights, and therefore fit only to serve those who had the mastery over them.

The first negro slaves in this country were brought to Virginia by a Dutch sailing vessel in 1619. There were only twenty of them. They were savages, but lately from Africa, half-naked, coarse, repellent. The planters on the James River were not eager to buy them; they doubted if such fellows would be profitable. But as the Dutch traders offered them cheap and threatened to throw them overboard if not bought, they were taken.

From this small beginning, negro slavery gradually spread into all the colonies in the North as well as in the South. In most of the Northern colonies it soon



Abraham Lincoln

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proved to be unprofitable. Little by little, the people in these colonies ceased to care for an institution which was plainly a hindrance to general prosperity; and soon after the war for independence was ended, some of the states began to abolish it as both unprofitable and troublesome. New Hampshire led the way. It was followed by Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, New Jersey. Soon in all the states north of Delaware, the negroes had been set free. This was not because the people had generally learned to look upon slavery as a great wrong, but because they had come to see that it was harmful to the interests of the large class of white persons who were obliged to work for their living.

In the South things were different. In the tobacco fields and in the regions where rice and indigo were cultivated, slavery was profitable. In the stifling climate of the Carolina lowlands the negroes worked and flourished where white laborers would have perished. In Virginia and Maryland there were large plantations that could not exist without the labor of slaves. In these states slavery seemed to be a necessity.

When the cotton gin was invented, and the cultivation of cotton became the chief industry of the South, there was a general demand for more slaves. With each passing year the interests of the slaveholders became greater and greater, and the condition of the negroes in bondage became more and

more hopeless. Thus the South grew rich through the labor of its slaves; and the North looked on without protest and also grew rich.

The patriotism of the Southern people differed from the patriotism of the Northern people in that it was sectional instead of national. The doctrine of States' Rights was held throughout the South long after it had disappeared from the North. When our government was founded, that doctrine was almost universal. Thomas Jefferson was its first great expounder; John C. Calhoun was its last great defender.

According to that doctrine, the state was supreme within its own boundaries. Our country was not one great nation, but a union of many nations. Allegiance was due first to the state, then to the section, and lastly to the United States. Citizens of Mississippi, for example, were proud to be called Americans; but they were prouder still to be called Southerners, and proudest of all to feel that they were Mississippians. The love for one's state induced an attachment for the section. The Southern states had many things in common: they had the same political beliefs; they had slavery; their productions were similar; the manner of living and thinking was much the same in all. Southern people, therefore, loved the South and were loyal to it.

Among the Northern people there was no deep-seated love for the North merely as a section of our

country; but very many people believed that there were in the United States two antagonistic forces, proslavery and antislavery, and that the chief aim of the proslavery force was to get the upper hand in everything. Only a small proportion of the Southern people were actual slaveholders. Those of the better class who were honest and well informed regretted that there should be so much strife between the North and the South. All were true patriots, as they understood patriotism. Some would have made great sacrifices to settle forever the disputes between the two sections. "If I owned all the slaves in the South," said Robert E. Lee of Virginia, "I would give them all to save the Union."

For more than half a century, the idea prevailed that the South should have as large a representation in Congress as the North. This idea began when the government was first organized with seven Northern states and six Southern states. The two sections continued almost equal in power until the admission of California gave to the North a decided majority in Congress.

The Southern people believed that it was the purpose of the North to tyrannize over the South in every possible way, and that a large number of persons were engaged in nothing else but planning to destroy slavery and reduce the Southern people to poverty. Thus sectional jealousy, more than any feeling about slavery, fanned the fires of discord,

and more than once threatened to destroy the Union. Nevertheless, slavery was the chief cause of that jealousy.

At length, in 1860, a presidential election occurred which precipitated the long-expected crisis. Abraham Lincoln, the candidate of the Republican party, was chosen to be the next president of the United States; and the Republican party was pledged to oppose the further extension of slavery. This afforded the Southern states an excuse for withdrawing from the Union. South Carolina, in accord with the long-cherished doctrine of States' Rights, was the first to secede. Other states followed her, and a new government, called the Confederate States of America, was established.

The seceding states demanded that the United States government should give up all the forts, arsenals, and other public property within their limits. President Lincoln, in reply to this demand, denied the right of any state to withdraw from the Union, and declared that since the states of the South were still parts of the United States, they were not entitled to any properties belonging to the general government. The so-called Confederate States thereupon began to take possession of the Southern forts by force. To prevent this, and to protect the rights of loyal citizens, President Lincoln issued a call for seventy-five thousand volunteers to serve in the Union army for three months; and both sides prepared for war.

Very early in the progress of the war, President Lincoln was urged to put an end to slavery; but he declined.

"My paramount object," he said, "is to save the Union, and not either to save or destroy slavery.



Lincoln Reading the Emancipation Proclamation

"If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it; if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that."

At last, however, after nearly two years of terrific warfare, the president became convinced that the Union could be preserved only by the destruction of

slavery. On the 22d of September, 1862, he accordingly issued his great Emancipation Proclamation, which was finally to result in giving freedom to more than four millions of human beings.

"I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States of America, the Commander in Chief of the army and navy thereof, do hereby proclaim and declare that . . . on the first day of January, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any state or designated part of a state, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free."

This proclamation was only a preliminary one. The final proclamation was issued on New Year's Day, 1863. Then it was that the momentous act of emancipation was completed. "By virtue of the power in me vested as Commander in Chief . . . in time of actual armed rebellion against the authority and government of the United States, and as a fit and necessary war measure, . . . I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within said designated states and parts of states are and henceforward shall be, free; and that the executive government of the United States, including the military and naval authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of said persons."

Had this proclamation been made six months earlier, it is probable that the people would not have ap-

proved of it at all. But the best men in the North had, little by little, been brought to the belief that the Union could never be restored until the cause of disunion had been removed. Thousands of persons, also, had become so tired of the war and so tired of supporting an institution which produced only discord and disaster, that they were ready to welcome almost any change that would promise relief.

You will observe that the proclamation did not promise freedom to all the slaves in the South. In the border states of Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia, Kentucky, and Missouri, slavery was not molested by it. There were also several counties and towns in the seceded states that were loyal to the Union; and in all such places, slavery was left "precisely as though the proclamation had not been made."

It was the beginning, however, of the end of slavery; and before many months had passed everybody saw clearly that such was the fact. "In the light of history we can see that by this edict Mr. Lincoln gave slavery its vital thrust, its mortal doom. It was the word of decision, the judgment without appeal."

The end of slavery in the United States came on the last day of January, 1865. On that day, Congress adopted the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution, declaring that "neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, . . . shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction."

WHAT LINCOLN SAID AT GETTYSBURG¹

FOURSCORE and seven years ago our fathers brought forth upon this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

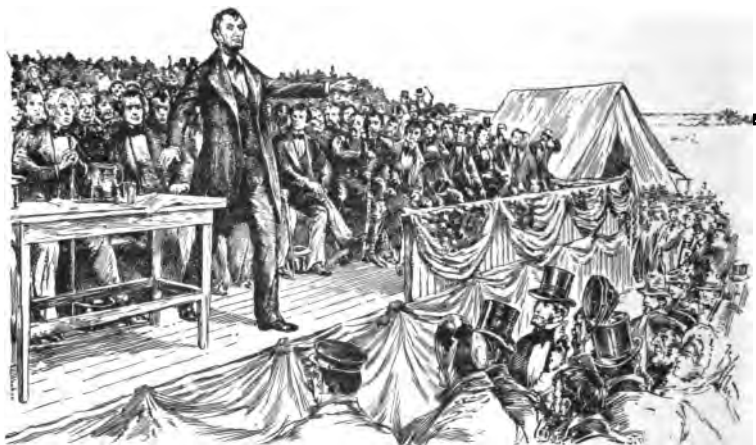
Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battlefield of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field as a final resting place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

But in a larger sense we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember, what we say here; but it can never forget what they did here.

It is for us, the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us

¹ Speech delivered at Gettysburg, in 1863, on the occasion of the dedication of the National Cemetery there.

to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us — that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they here gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here



Lincoln's Address at Gettysburg

highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom; and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

LIBERTY'S FOUR YEARS OF TRIAL¹

ON the occasion corresponding to this four years ago, all thoughts were anxiously directed to an impending civil war. All dreaded it—all sought to avert it. While the inaugural address was being delivered from this place, devoted altogether to saving the Union without war, insurgent agents were in the city seeking to destroy it without war—seeking to dissolve the Union, and divide the effects, by negotiation. Both parties deprecated war; but one of them would make war rather than let the nation survive; and the other would accept war rather than let it perish. And the war came.

One eighth of the whole population were colored slaves, not distributed generally over the Union, but localized in the southern part of it. These slaves constituted a peculiar and powerful interest. All knew that this interest was, somehow, the cause of the war. To strengthen, perpetuate, and extend this interest was the object for which the insurgents would rend the Union, even by war; while the government claimed no right to do more than to restrict the territorial enlargement of it.

¹ From a speech delivered by Abraham Lincoln, March 4, 1865, on the occasion of his second inauguration as President of the United States.

Neither party expected for the war the magnitude or the duration which it has already attained. Neither anticipated that the cause of the conflict might cease with, or even before, the conflict itself should cease. Each looked for an easier triumph, and a result less fundamental and astounding. Both read the same Bible, and pray to the same God; and each invokes his aid against the other. It may seem strange that any men should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing their bread from the sweat of other men's faces; but let us judge not, that we be not judged. The prayers of both could not be answered — that of neither has been answered fully.

The Almighty has his own purposes. "Woe unto the world because of offenses, for it must needs be that offenses come; but woe to that man by whom the offense cometh!" If we shall suppose that American slavery is one of those offenses which, in the providence of God, must needs come, but which, having continued through his appointed time, he now wills to remove, and that he gives to both North and South this terrible war, as the woe due to those by whom the offense came, shall we discern therein any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a living God always ascribe to him? Fondly do we hope — fervently do we pray — that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondsman's two hundred and fifty years

of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, "The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether."

With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and his orphan — to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations.

—ABRAHAM LINCOLN

OUR COMMON HERITAGE

EVERY American, every Englishman, may well feel proud to trace his ancestry, however remote, to those sturdy pioneers of liberty who are described in the first chapter of this book as "our forefathers between the seas." And if he can further claim kinship with those strong-willed, chivalrous Norman conquerors, who left their later impress upon our people, he will have additional reasons for making the best of himself. For, although these very distant relatives of ours would now be considered boorish and unmannerly — yes, even ignorant and uncivilized — they were, in their own times, very worthy types of manhood, and gave promise of traits of character which are to-day the glory of our race.

From these men and from their descendants through many generations, we Americans and we Englishmen have received a wonderful heritage — a heritage of things material and spiritual, which has gone far towards shaping the destinies of our respective countries and of the world itself.

We have inherited, first, that intense devotion to the spirit of liberty which has given freedom to half the world, checked the greed and the cruelty of kings, and assured equal rights under the law to all men of whatsoever rank or station.

We have inherited that noble patriotism which consists not merely in loving one's country, but also in valiantly defending the cause of justice and humanity throughout the world.

In common with our cousins beyond the sea, we have inherited the stolid earnestness, the dogged perseverance of John Bull, no less than the practical ingenuity, the shrewd business tact of Brother Jonathan. These traits of character, these qualities of mind and heart, belong to the race — they are part and parcel of the priceless treasure that has come down to us through the ages.

The language which we speak is the same that is spoken by our cousins; it is the same that was spoken by King Alfred, although tempered and enriched by the addition of thousands of words and terms unknown to him. It is a language beautiful and expressive, and of unequaled flexibility and strength. It is as much at home on this side of the Atlantic as on that. The meaning of English freedom is to be seen in the wonderful, matchless freedom of our English speech. No other tongue is comparable to it. It is the pride of two continents, the bond which unites two great peoples into one brotherhood.

Our literature also is the same as that of our cousins. Some learned schoolmasters may talk about American literature; but we may as well think of London literature, of Canadian literature, of Hoosier literature. Whatever is in our language and worthy of the name,

no matter where it was written, is English literature; and it is, or shall be, the common heritage of us all, whether we dwell on this side of the Atlantic or on that.

English prose literature began with King Alfred. English poetry was composed still earlier by Caedmon and the author of "Beowulf." From these Anglo-Saxon beginnings, modern English literature was developed many centuries later. When the Pilgrims and Puritans, the Quakers of Pennsylvania, and the Roman Catholics of Maryland set out to found new empires in America, the English language already contained a literature of unexampled wealth and beauty. It included the immortal works of Chaucer, of Spenser, of Bacon, of Shakespeare, and of many lesser geniuses. All these, as well as the multitude that have followed, belong as much to America as to England; and, in the same degree, the many American authors who have later contributed worthily to our common literature, belong to the whole English-speaking world. English literature claims them among its makers. "*Our literature*," let us call it; and let us, in common with all our kinspeople, cherish these works of the immortals as, next to liberty and the English language, our most priceless inheritance.

And what shall we say of the great names and deeds of history? King Alfred is as dear to patriots on this side of the ocean as on that. Englishmen

join with Americans in revering the name of Washington. The sea heroes of the Elizabethan age — Drake, Raleigh, Frobisher, Grenville, and the rest — belong to America no less than to their native land. Franklin, Adams, Jefferson, Webster, Clay are the products of English ideas and English civilization, as are also Pitt and Burke and Channing and Gladstone.

Wherever we may turn, whatever facts in history we may consider, our kinship is always in evidence and the list of possessions which are ours in common seems endless.

**WHAT THE RT. HON. A. J. BALFOUR SAID
ABOUT OUR MUTUAL INTERESTS¹**

ALL the world admires, all the world sympathizes with the vast work of the great American republic. All the world looks back upon the one hundred and forty-one years which have elapsed since the Declaration of Independence and sees in that one hundred and forty-one years an expansion in the way of population, in the way of wealth and of power, material and spiritual, which is unexampled in that period, and, as far as I know, in the history of the world.

We of the British race, who do not fall short of the rest of the world in our admiration of this mighty work, look at it in some respects in a different way from that of other people. From one point of view we have surely a right to look at it with a special satisfaction, a satisfaction born of the fact that, after all, the thirteen colonies were British colonies; that the thirteen colonies, in spite of small controversies, grew up, broadly speaking, under the protection of England; that it was our wars, the English wars with Spain, with Holland, and with France, which gave that security from external European attack which enabled those thirteen colonies to develop into the nucleus of the great community of which they were the origin.

¹ From a speech delivered in London on the Fourth of July, 1917.

We British may also surely, without undue vanity, pride ourselves on the fact that the men who founded the great American republic, the men whose genius contrived its Constitution, their forefathers who, struggling in the wilderness, gradually developed the basis of all that has happened since, were men speaking the English language, obeying and believing in English laws, and nourished upon English literature; and although we may say that the originality and power and endurance were theirs, they were men of our own race, born of the same stock; and to that extent at least, we may feel that we have some small but not insignificant part in the great development which the world owes to their genius, courage, and love of liberty. . . .

We have not learned freedom from you, nor you from us. We both spring from the same root. We both cultivate the same great aims. We both have the same hopes as regards the future of western civilization, and now we find ourselves united in this great struggle against a power which, if it be allowed to prevail, is going to destroy the very roots of that western civilization from which we all draw our strength. We are bound together in that.

Are we not bound together forever? Will not our descendants, when they come to look back on this unique episode in the history of the world, say that among the incalculable circumstances which it produces, the most beneficent and the most permanent

is, perhaps, that we are brought together and united for one common purpose in one common understanding—the two great branches of the English-speaking race? . . . That is the theme which I hope you will dwell upon—a theme which I hope and trust you will do your best to spread abroad in all parts of the world, so that from this date onwards for all time, we who speak the common language and have these common ideals may feel that we are working together for the best interests of the whole of mankind and for the civilization not only of the Old World but of the New.

WHAT GEORGE V. SAID ABOUT OUR COMMON IDEALS¹

THIS is a historic moment and your visit marks a historic epoch. Nearly one hundred and fifty years have passed since your republic began its independent life, and now, for the first time, a President of the United States is our guest in England.

We welcome you to the country whence came your ancestors and where stand the homes of those from whom sprang Washington and Lincoln. We welcome you for yourself, as one whose insight, calmness, and dignity in the discharge of his high duties we have watched with admiration. . . . You came from a studious, academic quiet into the full stream of an arduous public life, and your deliverances have combined breadth of view and grasp of world problems with the mastery of a lofty diction recalling that of your great orators of the past and of our own.

You come as the official head and spokesman of a mighty commonwealth bound to us by the closest ties. Its people speak the tongue of Shakespeare and Milton. Our literature is yours as yours is also ours, and men of letters in both countries have joined in maintaining its incomparable glories.

¹ From a speech delivered at Buckingham Palace, Dec. 27, 1918, welcoming President Wilson to England.

To you, not less than to us, belong the memories of our national heroes from King Alfred down to the days of Philip Sidney and Drake, of Raleigh and Blake and Hampden, and the days when the political life of the English stock in America was just beginning. You share with us the traditions of free self-government as old as the Magna Charta.

We recognize the bond of still deeper significance in the common ideals which our people cherish. First among those ideals you value and we value freedom and peace. Privileged as we have been to be the exponents and examples in national life of the principles of popular self-government based upon equal laws, it now falls to both of us alike to see how these principles can be applied beyond our own borders for the good of the world.

It was love of liberty, respect for law, good faith, and the sacred rights of humanity that brought you to the Old World to help in saving it from the dangers that were threatening around, and that arrayed those soldier citizens of yours, whose gallantry we have admired, side by side with ours in the war. . . .

The American and British peoples have been brothers in arms, and their arms have been crowned with victory. . . . May the same brotherly spirit inspire and guide our united efforts to secure for the world the blessings of an ordered freedom and an enduring peace.

WHAT WOODROW WILSON SAID ABOUT THE ISSUES OF THE GREAT WAR¹

At every turn of the war we gain a fresh consciousness of what we mean to accomplish by it. When our hope and expectation are most excited we think more definitely than before of the issues that hang upon it and of the purposes which must be realized by means of it. For it has positive and well-defined purposes which we did not determine and which we cannot alter. No statesman or assembly created them; no statesman or assembly can alter them. They have arisen out of the very nature and circumstances of the war. The most that statesmen or assemblies can do is to carry them out or be false to them. They were perhaps not clear at the outset; but they are clear now.



Woodrow Wilson

The war has lasted more than four years and the whole world has been drawn into it. The common will of mankind has been substituted for the particular purposes of individual states. Individual statesmen

¹ From a speech delivered in New York, September 27, 1918.

may have started the conflict; but neither they nor their opponents can stop it as they please. It has become a peoples' war, and peoples of all sorts and races, of every degree of power and variety of fortune, are involved in its sweeping processes of change and settlement. We came into it when its character had become fully defined and it was plain that no nation could stand apart or be indifferent to its outcome. Its challenge drove to the heart of everything we cared for and lived for. The voice of the war had become clear and gripped our hearts. Our brothers from many lands, as well as our own murdered dead under the sea, were calling to us, and we responded, fiercely and of course.

The air was clear about us. We saw things in their full, convincing proportions as they were; and we have seen them with steady eyes and unchanging comprehension ever since. We accepted the issues of the war as facts, not as any group of men either here or elsewhere had defined them, and we can accept no outcome which does not squarely meet and settle them. Those issues are these:

Shall the military power of any nation or group of nations be suffered to determine the fortunes of peoples over whom they have no right to rule except the right of force?

Shall strong nations be free to wrong weak nations and make them subject to their purpose and interest?

Shall peoples be ruled and dominated, even in their

own internal affairs, by arbitrary and irresponsible force or by their own will and choice?

Shall there be a common standard of right and privilege for all peoples and nations, or shall the strong do as they will and the weak suffer without redress?

Shall the assertion of right be haphazard and by casual alliance, or shall there be a common concert to oblige the observance of common rights?

No man, no group of men, chose these to be the issues of the struggle. They *are* the issues of it; and they must be settled — by no arrangement or compromise or adjustment of interests, but definitely and once for all, and with a full and unequivocal acceptance of the principle that the interest of the weakest is as sacred as the interest of the strongest.

MAKING THE WORLD SAFE FOR DEMOCRACY

WE come in answer only to the high call of duty and not for any material reward; not for territory, nor for indemnity or conquest, not for anything save the high duty to succor democracy when it is desperately assailed.

— W. H. PAGE, U. S. Ambassador to Great Britain.

IN the early years of the American republic, the hostile monarchies of Europe more than once conspired against its existence.

"This doctrine of human liberty — of democracy and the rights of man — is a dangerous heresy," said these despots who claimed to be God's favorites. "We must crush it wherever it appears, or it will eventually crush us and our entire system."

And so, at the very beginning, when England was signing the treaty of peace which acknowledged the independence of the thirteen states, the kings of France and Spain, although formerly in alliance with the colonies, conspired to prevent the growth of the infant nation. They proposed to the mother country that she should limit the new states to a very narrow strip of territory between the Allegheny Mountains and the sea.

"Thus bounded and restrained," they argued, "they will be unable to expand; they will soon be

fighting among themselves, and it will then be easy to step in and impose our own form of government upon them."

But the mother country, through her friendly commissioners and the influence of Benjamin Franklin, refused to listen to such argument. "This new republic is my child," she said, "she must have room to grow." And the treaty was signed which extended the territories of the United States to the Great Lakes on the north and the Mississippi River on the west.

Again, a few years later, Napoleon Bonaparte, that autocrat of autocrats, conspired to establish an empire in the heart of America which should finally extend the rule of despotism over the entire continent. With this in view, he cajoled Spain into giving him possession of Louisiana, including all that vast, unexplored region west of the Mississippi River. Having thus obtained a foothold in the New World, he supposed that at a convenient time he could easily crush the feeble republic on the Atlantic seaboard and extend his sway over the entire hemisphere.

Fortunately, however, the convenient time did not come; affairs in Europe were not auspicious; and he was informed that if he should make any attempt to meddle with the affairs of the American republic he would have to reckon with the entire British fleet, of whose strength he was by no means ignorant. He was glad, therefore, to replenish his exhausted

treasury by selling the territory of Louisiana to the very country he had dreamed of crushing — thus much more than doubling the area of the infant republic and increasing her resources to an enormous extent.

Is it any wonder that the despots of Prussia, Austria, and Russia should become alarmed at the rapid expansion of democracy and the consequent growth of republican ideas? Their alarm, as we have already observed, took shape in the formation of the Holy Alliance and the solemn agreement entered into at Verona to oppose and crush all forms of representative government wherever they might be attempted. This conspiracy was promptly met and opposed by the publication of President Monroe's immortal "doctrine," that no European monarchy would be permitted to interfere in the political life of the western hemisphere. This declaration was made effective by the support and coöperation of the British government, and the bulwarks of liberty were strengthened against the encroachments of European despots.

Within the century which has elapsed since the time of President Monroe, many attempts have been made to nullify the principle which he enunciated and to establish an autocracy, more or less absolute, somewhere on the American continent. The most threatening of these attempts was the intervention of European powers in Mexico in 1861, at the time when the United States government, being absorbed in

the Civil War, was unable to offer any strong opposition. An Austrian prince, Maximilian, was proclaimed emperor of Mexico; and for a time it seemed possible that the despots of the Old World would accomplish their long-cherished project of extending their system to the American continent. But dissensions arose; one by one, the European powers withheld their support; and when at length the United States was able to send her troops toward the border, Napoleon III, the last of the conspirators, abandoned the newly-made emperor to the tender mercies of an outraged people. The effort to establish a foreign autocracy in Mexico failed miserably, the Monroe Doctrine was vindicated, and liberty gained a new triumph.

The last great conspiracy against democracy and human liberty originated in the German empire and was planned and conducted chiefly by the kaiser, William Hohenzollern, and his officers and subordinates. From the time of his accession to the throne, the kaiser's chief ambition was the attainment of world empire, the exaltation of himself as the "All-highest," or supreme ruler by divine right, and the suppression and overthrow of democracy. For more than forty years, the energies of the German empire were directed to a general and systematic preparation for war. The children were educated to revere the kaiser as God's chosen ruler upon earth; the facts of history and geography were distorted or concealed

to lend additional glory to Germany and Germany's ruler; and both young and old were taught to believe that the Germans were the chosen people of God and therefore under no obligations of friendship or fellowship with other and inferior peoples.

In August, 1914, all things being ready, the German armies began their invasion of the neighboring countries, Belgium, France, and Russia. It was an invasion unparalleled in the world's history, and was accompanied by barbarities that would have shamed the most savage of heathen tribes. Its object, though never directly stated, was the final conquest of the world and the triumph of autocratic government in the person of William Hohenzollern.

To the people of the United States, the war was a tremendous surprise. It was incomprehensible. That any nation should thus, murderously and bloody-handed, spring at the throats of its neighbors and fellow nations, surpassed belief. The President promptly issued a proclamation of neutrality, and to most Americans it seemed impossible that their government should, through any means, become embroiled in what seemed to be, first and last, a European war. One by one, for self-defense or mutual aid, nearly all the nations of Europe were drawn into the conflict—the entire world was disturbed and thrown into confusion, the occupations of peace were abandoned to a large extent for the occupations of war.

At such a time, it was difficult for any nation to maintain strict neutrality; for the United States, it was impossible. Honest efforts of the American government to maintain peace and good will with all nations were met by the German government with quibbles and misrepresentations of facts. Official agents of Germany, spies in disguise, were everywhere conspiring against the United States. In all the countries of the western continent, German agents were at work trying to stir up one nation against another and all against the government at Washington.

On the high seas, where all nations are entitled to equal rights and privileges, the Germans were daily violating the laws of nations as well as the principles of humanity which underlie modern civilization. Outrage after outrage was committed upon the citizens and property of neutral nations. Men going peaceably about their business, helpless women, innocent children — all were alike ruthlessly slain, drowned by German submarines; and many of these victims were Americans.

So long as it was possible, the government of the United States tried to believe that these violations of the laws of humanity were the work of reckless men acting without authority. But overwhelming proofs were not wanting that they were planned and ordered by the kaiser's government, and that they were only parts of a system of terrorism by which he intended

to overawe and subdue all who opposed him. The repeated protests of the President of the United States were contemptuously slighted; and, if promises were made, they were soon broken without compunction or apology.

And so the German outrages on sea and land continued; the protests of the President of the United States became sharper and more positive; the nation was fast being drawn into war. Finally, the conviction was "crystallized in American minds and hearts that this war beyond the sea was no mere conflict for imagined rights or petty gains, but a stupendous civil war of all the world; a new campaign in the age-old war, the prize of which is LIBERTY. Here at last was a struggle in which all who love freedom have a stake. Further neutrality on the part of the American people would have been a crime against their ancestors, who had given their lives that their descendants might be free." "The world must be made safe for democracy," declared the President.

On April 2, 1917, the Congress of the United States met in extraordinary session to consider the tremendous issues that were before the country. To this Congress the President read his message, in which he asked the representatives of the nation to declare the existence of a state of war between the United States and Germany. On April 6, such declaration was made and adopted by the joint resolution of both Houses; and the war for liberty was actually begun.

Neutrality was a thing of the past. The time had come when the President's proud prophecy was fulfilled:

"There will come that day when the world will say, 'This America that we thought was full of a multitude of contrary counsels now speaks with the great volume of the heart's accord, and that great heart of America has behind it the supreme moral force of righteousness and hope and the liberty of mankind.'"

And again: "For us there is but one choice. We have made it. Woe be to the man or group of men that seeks to stand in our way in this day of high resolution when every principle we hold dearest is to be vindicated and made secure for the salvation of the nations. We are ready to plead at the bar of history, and our flag shall wear a new luster. Once more we shall make good with our lives and fortunes the great faith to which we were born, and a new glory shall shine in the face of our people."

To attempt to give a history of the events which followed the declaration of war would exceed the limits and the purpose of this volume. You know the results: how the Germans and their allies were defeated on sea and on land; how the long armistice saw them disarmed and helpless and craving mercy; and how by the treaty of peace many peoples hitherto helpless and enthralled were awarded the priceless

gift of freedom. The forces of autocracy had been routed and overthrown. The world would henceforth be safe for democracy. *LIBERTY was triumphant.*

L'ENVOY

TO THE HEROES WHO GAVE THEIR LIVES FOR
LIBERTY

Strew loving offerings o'er the brave,
Their country's joy, their country's pride;
For us their precious lives they gave,
For freedom's sacred cause they died.

Long, where on glory's fields they fell,
May freedom's spotless banner wave;
And fragrant tributes, grateful, tell
Where live the free, where sleep the brave.

— SAMUEL F. SMITH

